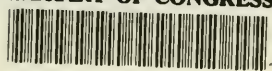


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BEVERLY PRIVATEERS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY

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BEVERLY PRIVATEERS IN THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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INTRODUCTION

At the opening of the War of the Revolution Beverly numbered about 3000 inhabitants. Its sea coast extended for six miles along the north shore in alternate sections of rocky point and sandy beach. Back from the shore line, from Manchester on the east to Wenham on the north and Danvers on the west, the land, broken and rolling, was dotted with farms and partly covered with pine woods. The soil was fairly fertile for New England and watered by numerous brooks. The inhabitants were farmers tilling their own farms,

fishermen, mariners, merchants, professional men, and the mechanics and middlemen necessary in every village. Manufactures were only such as commerce and fishing necessitated, rope making, sail making and probably some ship building. There were five small distilleries where molasses from the West Indies was converted into rum.

The harbor was for vessels of the size used in those days, a safe, convenient and fairly deep one. In the harbor between the Point and the site of the bridge now connecting Beverly and Salem lay the wharves, the first, counting from the ocean side, Union wharf, now Guffey's, next Bartlett's and Glover's, later occupied by Colonel Israel Thorndike. At the head of this wharf on Water Street was a large storehouse with an archway entrance from the street. Next Lovett's and Standley's wharf, then Stephen Nourse's wharf, later occupied by Nourse & Stephens, next followed in order, Pickard and Woodbury's, J. & H. Morgan's, Foster and Lovett's, Picket's, Ober's now Preston's, Deacon John Safford's, and Distillery wharf. There were also a few wharves in Bass River, used during the war for captured prizes. At the head of the wharves and along Water Street were the warehouses of the Beverly merchants, and along the shore from the Point toward the Cove were the fish flakes where the salted cod were dried in the sun. Most of the merchants and importers did a retail as well as wholesale business, selling to the fishermen, salt, nets, lines and clothing, and exchanging dress goods, rum, sugar, linen and flour for fish, grain, lumber and country produce.

Prior to the Revolutionary War Beverly was essentially a fishing village and all its commerce was based on this staple. In 1772 the fishing fleet consisted of 30 vessels of the following ownership, tonnage and value:

NAMES OF OWNERS	VESSELS OWNED	TONNAGE	VALUE IN POUNDS
Benj. Davis	3	160	900
Josiah Batchelder	2	120	600
Thomas Woodberry	1	55	300
Jonathan Lovett	2½	150	750
William Bartlett	2	120	600
Thomas Stephens	1¾	90	450
Israel Thorndike	6⅜	150	900
J. & A. Cabot	2	120	600
P. Obear & Co.	2½	65	300
Carried forward	23½	1030	5400

NAMES OF OWNERS	VESSELS OWNED	TONNAGE	VALUE IN POUNDS
Brought forward	23 $\frac{1}{8}$	1030	5400
H. Thorndike	1	65	300
Benj. Ober	1	65	300
Isaac Thorndike	1	55	300
Zebulan Ray	1	60	300
Benj. Dodge	1	60	300
Benj. Lovett	2	130	600
	<u>30$\frac{1}{8}$</u>	<u>1465</u>	<u>7500</u>

The whole value of the fishing industry is given as 17,825 pounds. Most of the fishing vessels were schooners and all small enough to trade, when not fishing, with the West Indies, a trade restricted by both France and England to vessels of seventy tons or under. The best cod fish were sent to Spain, the inferior to the West Indies.

The total value of the exports from Beverly in 1772 is not obtainable, but besides fish the merchants of Beverly exported masts, spars, and manufactured lumber in its various forms. Vessels engaged in foreign trade were as follows:

NAMES OF OWNERS	NO. OF VESSELS	TONNAGE	VALUE IN POUNDS
Thomas Davis	1	100	300
Josiah Batchelder	1	60	300
Livermore Whittredge	1	90	300
Isaac Thorndike	1	80	300
J. & A. Cabot	2	300	940
S. Raymond	1	90	350
John Dyson	1	90	400
Israel Thorndike	2	100	600
	<u>10</u>	<u>910</u>	<u>3490</u>

There was also a coasting trade to Maine for lumber, to Maryland and Virginia for flour, and to Carolina for rice, not to mention the West India trade, which was large, and both coasting and fishing vessels were used in this. The total tonnage of the town, probably underestimated, is given as 2406 tons.¹ In 1772 the value of the real estate in Beverly is given as 113,000 pounds, personal property 45,000 pounds, making the total valuation 158,000 pounds. In 1775 the fishing fleet consisted of 35 schooners manned by over 300 men. In 1775 Beverly was only surpassed in Essex County by Salem and Newburyport in the wealth, and by Ipswich, Marblehead, Salem, and Newburyport, in the number of its inhabitants. It had many

¹ Nathan Dane Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society).



Hugh Hall

*Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a portrait owned by Mrs. Charles Nor*

stores, seventy is the number given, and rivalled or surpassed Salem in the quantity and quality of the merchandise offered. This was chiefly due to the large importing house of J. & A. Cabot. The firm doing business under this name consisted of George Cabot,¹ Joseph Lee,² John and Andrew Cabot, and they had gradually built up a large business making the Spanish trade a specialty. Their agents and correspondents in that country were the firm of Joseph Gardoqui & Sons and as early as 1770 their vessels, under command of George Cabot, Stephen Cleveland, and Benjamin Lovett, were shipping the catch of the Beverly fishermen to Bilbao and bringing back salt, iron, cordage, silks, linen, and liquors to the home port. Occasionally they sent vessels to Charleston for rice and to Virginia for tobacco and shipped thence to their correspondents in Bilbao.

Next in importance to the Cabots was the firm of Brown & Thorndike. The senior partner, Moses Brown,³ moved to Beverly in 1772 and a few years after formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, Israel Thorndike.⁴ Mr. Brown was a public spirited man, enthusiastic in the cause of American independence, a sergeant in Larkin Thorndike's company at Lexington, and an officer in several of the battles of the Revolution. His partner, Israel Thorndike, was a young man of great virility and ambition and as an officer of the State navy and commander of several privateers did good service to the public cause. The firm dealt largely in broadcloths, velvets and dress goods, and also sold supplies to the fishermen.

One of the oldest houses was that of John & Thomas Stephens. They were of old Beverly stock, descendants of John Stephens who came over in 1700. The firm owned several merchant and fishing vessels and did a general importing business. Other prominent business men were Josiah Batchelder, Jr.,⁵ mariner, captain, mer-

¹ George Cabot (1751-1823), United States Senator, President of the Hartford Convention, etc.

² Joseph Lee (1744-1831), born in Salem.

³ Moses Brown (1748-1820), born at Waltham; H. C. 1768; raised and commanded a company which left Beverly August 9, 1777; present at the battles of Long Island, Trenton, and Harlem Heights.

⁴ Israel Thorndike (1755-1825), son of Andrew and Anna (Morgan) Thorndike.

⁵ Josiah Batchelder, Jr. (1737-1828), representative to the General Court; member of Congress; innholder; surveyor of the port of Beverly.

chant, shipowner and politician; William Bartlett,¹ first Naval Agent in Massachusetts for the new republic; Larkin Thorndike, soldier, merchant and shipowner; John Dyson, William Homans,² Thomas Davis,³ Jonathan Lovett, William Leach,⁴ Livermore Whittredge,⁵ Benjamin Lovett, Thomas Woodberry,⁶ and Ebenezer Ellingwood.

Although the above names appear most often in the mercantile and privateering history of Beverly as owners of vessels and privateers, it must be remembered that they were by no means sole owners of the vessels credited to them. As a matter of policy and insurance a merchant preferred to own only a sufficient share of a vessel to give him control and the balance, often a half interest, was held by men whose names do not appear. Most of the vessels sailing from Beverly in the first three years of the war were manned by Beverly crews and always included a strong contingent of Lovetts, Herricks, Gages, Thorndikes, Batchelders, Ellingwoods, Fosters, Obers, and Woodberrys, and the two latter families could have officered and manned a large privateer with men of their own name.

The citizens of Beverly had been zealous in resisting what seemed to them the tyranny of Great Britain, had, like all the other sea port towns, evaded the Navigation law, applauded the destruction of tea, sympathized with Boston over the Port Bill and contributed liberally to the poor of that city. Their Committee of Correspondence included such names as John Leach, Benjamin Jones, Henry Herrick, Samuel Goodridge, Josiah Batchelder, Joshua Cleves, Nicholas Thorndike, Andrew Cabot, Joseph Wood, Livermore Whittredge, Israel Thorndike, Edward Giles, William Dodge, William Taylor, John Lovett, 3rd, Thomas Stephens, and Josiah Batchelder, Jr. These men and many like them made Beverly a town whose naval history stands second to none in the records of the American Revolution.

¹ William Bartlett (1745-1809), fourth in descent from William Bartlett of Frampton, Dorset, England.

² William Homans (1749-1837), born at Marblehead, died in Beverly.

³ Thomas Davis, born September 25, 1755, son of Thomas and Abigail (Stephens) Davis of Salem.

⁴ William Leach (1758-1838).

⁵ Livermore Whittredge, born February 24, 1740; descended from William Whittredge, who came over in 1635 and settled in Ipswich.

⁶ Thomas Woodberry, born May 10, 1743, son of Thomas and Lucy (Herrick) Woodberry.

In writing a history of the privateers of Beverly, one encounters certain difficulties which lead to unavoidable omissions and occasional confusion. Salem and Beverly had one custom house and one naval officer, and vessels really belonging to Beverly were often credited to Salem. The Salem Gazette, the natural source of information about Beverly vessels, was not published from soon after the beginning of the war until 1781.¹ The petitions for commissions for commanders of private armed vessels in the Massachusetts Archives were usually signed by agents and do not necessarily give information of the real owner, and in addition are themselves defective. A paucity of nomenclature, so that for example there were 24 *Dolphins* and 14 *Fortunes* sailing as privateers during the war, and the curious custom of giving a new vessel the name of one lost or taken by the enemy, add to the confusion. Changes of name, rig, and ownership occur with startling rapidity, and these, with a general looseness of statement and an astonishing inaccuracy of description, characteristic of the times, make the puzzle a hard one to unravel. For these and other reasons there were probably more privateer and letter of marque vessels sailing from Beverly during the war than are described in these pages. The spelling of family names follows as far as possible that found in the Massachusetts Archives, but as names are sometimes spelled in two ways in the same petition it hardly seems necessary to be particular. No vessels have been included unless sailing from or partly owned in Beverly.

I

It is the opinion of some critics, including such an authority as Captain Mahan, that privateering as a means of injuring the enemy is inferior in its results to the use of state and national vessels. This is probably true, but it presupposes that the money spent in equipping private armed vessels would be expended on the navy and that the men manning the vessels would enlist in the national service. As a matter of fact in the Revolutionary war it would have been impossible to raise by taxation a tithe of the money spent on private armed vessels and had the State owned the vessels they could have been filled only by impressment. The red tape and rigid discipline

¹ For the newspapers of Salem, see Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, xxv. 463-476.

of a public vessel did not appeal to men as did the freer life of a privateer; and state ownership was regarded by shipowners as less efficient than private control.

George Washington took command of the army at Cambridge, July 3, 1775, but it was not until September that he found time to take up the question of warfare upon the sea. Already Rhode Island and Connecticut had ordered the equipment of armed vessels, South Carolina and Georgia had cruizers afloat, and a sloop from Philadelphia had taken the magazine at New Providence. It is probable that privateers from Massachusetts without commissions were already cruising, but it was not until September 2, 1775, that the first regular commission was issued. On that date, acting under general powers, General Washington writes to Nicholas Broughton of Marblehead: "You being appointed captain in the army of the United Provinces of North America are directed to take command of a detachment of said army and proceed on board the schooner *Hannah* at Beverly lately fitted out with arms, ammunition and provisions." The *Hannah* was an ordinary fishing schooner belonging to Colonel John Glover, who, although a resident of Marblehead, owned a wharf in Beverly and conducted his fishing business from that place. In accordance with these orders Captain Broughton, taking a detachment from Colonel Glover's regiment of Marblehead fishermen, men well fitted for the purpose, hoisted his flag on the *Hannah* and sailed on his first cruise. On September 7, 1775, he writes to Washington: "I beg leave to acquaint your Excellency that I sailed from Beverly last Tuesday with a fair wind and proceeded on my course. Took a ship off Cape Ann and sent her into Gloucester." This prize, the first taken by a regularly commissioned Massachusetts vessel, was the English ship *Unity*.

Colonel Glover and Stephen Moylan, the latter acting secretary to Washington, had been appointed a committee to secure vessels by purchase or charter for the service of the United Provinces, and on October 9, 1775, Colonel Moylan writes Washington that the owners of the *Hannah* object to putting extra sails on the vessel, it being customary to provide only foresail, mainsail and jib. "Col. Glover," he continues, "has given the strongest proof of his good opinion of the schooner by putting his brother and favorite son on her. We have hired a schooner from Marblehead. She is noted for

her good qualities and will be ready to take in the *Hannah's* company in 12 or 14 days if any misfortune should follow. She is taken on the same terms as the other two, four shillings per ton per month or five shillings, four pence, lawful money."

At the time the *Hannah* sailed from Beverly, there were two vessels lying at the wharves of that town which had been hired for the same service, the *Lynch* and the *Franklin*. On the return of the *Hannah*, Captain Broughton was ordered to take command of the *Lynch* and Captain Selman, also of Colonel Glover's regiment, of the *Franklin*. The *Lynch* carried six guns and 75 men, the *Franklin* four guns and 60 men, the crews of both vessels being drawn from Colonel Glover's regiment. The two vessels were ordered when ready to cruize in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and intercept two English transports bound for Quebec and expected about this time.

The provisioning and arming of these vessels proceeded slowly, but by October 19 they were ready and Stephen Moylan writes to General Joseph Reed: "Capt. Broughton and Capt. Selman will be ready to sail tomorrow. The latter is in want of a surgeon and we believe it will be difficult to prevail on the captain and crew to sail without one. Please send one." General Reed writes in reply: "Dr. Spofford agrees to go. Please fix on colors for a flag. What do you think of a flag with a white ground, a tree in the middle, with 'Appeal to Heaven.'" Dr. Spofford came as agreed, but they did not sail until the 24th, and then without the new colors. Their signal was ensign at main-toppinglift. On November 2, 1775, Captain Broughton writes from the White Head, four degrees west of Canso: "Have taken a ship with a cargo of provisions belonging to Enoch Rust of Boston and sent the vessel to New England." Although some ten prizes were taken by Captain Broughton, nothing was seen of the two transports and the *Lynch* and the *Franklin* returned to Beverly.

Washington had not been pleased with the leisurely way in which the *Lynch* and the *Franklin* had been fitted out at Beverly and in a letter to Colonel Moylan questions Colonel Glover's management of the affair. On October 24 Moylan writes in reply:

I sincerely believe Col. Glover has the cause at heart and has done his best in fitting out these four vessels. There is a reason and I think it is a substantial one why a person born in the same town or

neighborhood should not be employed in public affairs in that town. It is the spirit of equality which reigns throughout the country which makes him afraid of exerting his authority. He must shake every man by the hand and pray do, my brother, do, my friend, whereas a few hearty damns from a person who does not care a damn for them would have a much better effect.

On the same day Colonel Moylan writes to Joseph Reed:

Colonel Glover showed me a letter of yours which has mortified him much. I really and sincerely believe he has the cause much at heart and that he has done his best in fitting out these last four vessels for the public service. You cannot conceive the difficulty and delay there is in procuring the thousand things necessary for these vessels. I dare say one of them might be fitted in Philadelphia or New York in three days, because you would know where to apply for the different articles but here you must search all over Salem, Marblehead, Danvers and Beverly for every thing that is wanted. I must add to these the jobbing carpenters who are the idlest scoundrels in nature. If I could have procured others I should have dismissed the whole gang of them last Friday; and such religious rascals are they that we could not prevail on them to work on the Sabbath. I have stuck very close to them crying shame and scolding them for their tory like disposition.

Washington, an aristocrat by birth and a soldier by avocation, regarded with indignation the lawless acts of some of the early privateersmen and felt only contempt for their evident desire to imitate the showy externals rather than the discipline of the navy. On November 6, 1775, at his direction, Colonel Moylan writes a rather sarcastic letter in regard to Captain Martindale of the brig *Washington*, then fitting out at Plymouth: "The General is apprehensive that Capt. Martindale will make the outfit of his brig too expensive. The intention of fitting out these cruisers is not to attack armed, but take unarmed, vessels. I don't see the use of a drum and fife but if it will give Capt. Martindale any pleasure he shall have them." Again in November he writes: "Our rascally privateersmen go on mutinously if they cannot do as they please. Those at Plymouth, Beverly and Portsmouth have done nothing worth mentioning in the way of prizes." Early in December he writes again: "The plague, trouble and vexation I have had with the crews of all the armed vessels are inexhaustible. The crews of the *Washington* and *Harrison* have actually deserted them."

The schooner hired by Colonel Glover to take the place of the *Hannah* was named the *Lee*, and Captain John Manly of Marblehead was appointed her commander. Captain Manly was one of the few naval officers who seemed to suit Washington and he held during the whole war a deserved reputation for conduct and courage. Born at Torquay, England, in 1733, he settled in Marblehead when a young man and during the Revolutionary War commanded in rapid succession the schooners *Lee* and *Hancock*, the privateers *Cumberland* and *Jason*, and the frigate *Hague*. The good fortune of his early career did not continue and he was three times taken prisoner and confined in English prisons.¹ On October 28, 1775, he sailed on his first cruise with a crew drawn from Colonel Glover's regiment. On November 30th Washington writes: "I hear good accounts of the schooner *Lee*, Capt. Manly, he has taken a large brigantine from London for Boston and sent her into Cape Ann. Capt. Adams in the *Warren* has taken a schooner laden with potatoes and turnips."

The *Franklin* after her cruise under Captain Sellman had remained in Beverly harbor and Captain Samuel Tucker was appointed her commander. On February 9, 1776, he sailed from Beverly on a cruise in company with the *Lee*, Captain Waters, and in conjunction with the *Defence* and several other privateers was fortunate enough to take the transports *George* and *Annabella*. In his instructions to Captain Tucker, Washington had written: "Treat prisoners with kindness and humanity. Their private stock of money and clothes must be returned to them." It is to the credit of the officers of American privateers that these instructions, especially the first, have usually been observed; but privateering is rough business, and a disposition to make free with the property of prisoners has characterized the privateers of every nation.

The officers and crews of the vessels commissioned by Washington received the same pay² as officers and privates in the army of the United Provinces and in addition one-third part of the value of every vessel and cargo taken, after condemnation in the Courts of

¹ John Manly died February 12, 1793: cf. Publications of this Society, v. 274 note.

² Captain's pay per month, £ 4; 1st lieutenant, £ 3; 2nd lieutenant, £ 2.10.0; surgeon, £ 2.10.0; master, £ 2.0.0; boatswain, £ 1.10.0; steward, £ 1.10.0.

Admiralty. If the vessel was armed, one-half, instead of one-third, was given as prize money. As afterwards construed this meant sufficiently armed to attempt resistance and not a mere technical armament. Of this prize money the captain received six shares, the 1st lieutenant five shares, the 2nd lieutenant four shares, the master two shares, the master's mate one and a half shares, the gunner the same, and the mariners each one share.

On December 20, 1775, Congress resolved that the seized vessels carried into Massachusetts should be proceeded against by the law of nations and libelled in the Courts of Admiralty of that state. Such courts had already been established, and on December 12, 1775, Colonel Timothy Pickering writes:

To the Hon. the Council of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

May it please your Honors,

The Secretary has just informed me that your Honors have thought fit to appoint me Judge of a Court to try the justice of the captured vessels infesting the sea coast of America which shall be brought into the counties of Suffolk, Middlesex and Essex. Your Honors will please accept my thanks for the appointment. I am, may it please your Honors,

Your most obedient servant,

TIM. PICKERING, Jr.

The first sitting of the court was held March 16, 1776.

About November 1, 1775, William Bartlett of Beverly was appointed first prize agent in Massachusetts for the United Colonies with instructions to libel all prizes in his jurisdiction and after legal condemnation sell them at auction and distribute the proceeds.¹

¹ In some cases there seems to have been actual distribution of the cargo instead of a sale at auction and division of the proceeds. The following deposition is from the Nathan Dane Papers:

"I James Fuller Lakeman of Lawful age do Testify, in the Summer of the year One thousand, Seven hundred and eighty I went a Voyage from Gloucester to Bilbao in a Ship called the *Gloucester Packet*, William Coy, commander. I acted as Mariner on board and in the passage from Bilbao we took a Prize. She was a British brig of more than a hundred Tons, Loaded with salt and I was put on board of her with the Prize Master and four Men to Bring her and we arrived safe at Gloucester in the month of July Where the said Cargo was Divided and I Received thirty Bushels of it for my share. I exchanged my Share of said Salt at two Bushels of corn for one bushel of Salt and Corn was then one dollar a Bushel, hard money."

Mr. Bartlett entered on his duties with a high respect for the dignity of his office and considerable doubt as to what his duties were. As some Massachusetts privateers were probably cruising without commissions and as courts had not yet been erected to try prizes regularly taken, he was naturally at a loss what to do and disposed to seek General Washington's advice. His letters to the General, and Washington's terse, caustic and somewhat impatient replies are rather amusing. Mr. Bartlett's first letter to Washington bears the date of November 4, 1775:

SIR.

Since I have had the honour of a commission under Your Excellency I have never had an opportunity before to return you my hearty thanks. I have the pleasure of informing Your Excellency that this morning at daylight there appeared two sloops at anchor under one of our islands called Misery. One of them came to sail and went on in a direct course for Boston. The other being very much torn to pieces in a gale of wind was unfit to proceed on her course. Two resolute people in a small boat went off and took her before we knew of it at this portion of the town. However, some of Capt. Brown's stationed men went down and brought her up in this harbor. My instructions are short in regard to such cases and I beg Your Excellency will give me particular instructions. The crew of the vessel consisted of Capt. Ritchie, his father, one white man, one mulatto and a negro. He refuses to give up his papers.

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM BARTLETT.

Four days later Mr. Bartlett writes again to know what he shall do with a schooner from Ireland brought in by five Beverly men who put out from shore and seized her. Colonel Moylan replies for Washington:

SIR.

Your favor of the 8th to his Excellency came this morning. As the people on board object to your taking charge of the schooner and as having anything to do with vessels brought in as the *North Briton* was will give you and the General trouble, it is his advice that you have nothing to do with them. Suppose you give the vessel to the Committee of Public Safety. In short get rid of her as best you can and let us hear nothing further thereon.

There were a number of illegal seizures, by boats from the shore, one of them, probably the earliest, by Hugh Hill, afterwards commander of the Beverly privateers *Pilgrim* and *Cicero*.

To the Hon. the Council and House of Representatives of the Mass. State.

The petition of Hugh Hill of Marblehead, Humbly Showeth that your Petitioner with a Number of his Fellow Townsmen, (Actuated and Inspired with the hope of Doing Good to the American Cause and Injuring their Enemies) did some time in the month of Oct. 1775 by force of arms attack, Subdue and Take a Small Schooner called the Industry, commanded by Francis Butler, Laden with Turtles, limes and from New Providence bound to Boston. (there being no Court of Admiralty Established) Communicated to the Committee of this town with the papers found in said vessel, Who forwarded them to the Hon. Council and in Consequence Received Directions to dispose of the cargo at Vendue and to deliver the Vessel to the order of Gen. Washington, which they complied with. As soon as the Courts of Admiralty were Opened, some of the Persons Concerned in the Capture of Said Vessel, Labelled her and Trial was then held. When the Jury for Want of Proper Evidence from some Mistaken Circumstance Cleared Vessel and Cargo and of Consequence Made Your Petitioners Liable to Costs.

Your Petitioner therefor prays Your Honors will Take into consideration and Grant him an Indemnification from such costs and from such Damages as the Owners of the Vessel may attempt or recover against him and Your Petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray.

HUGH HILL.¹

A month later Colonel Moylan writes Mr. Bartlett in regard to the brigantine *Hannah*,² a vessel sent into Beverly by Captain Manly: "There are oranges, lemons and limes aboard which you had better sell immediately. The General will want some of these as well as the sweetmeats and pickles aboard as his lady will be here

¹ Massachusetts Archives, clxxx. 974.

² The following advertisement appeared in a Boston paper of May 17, 1776: "To be sold by William Bartlett, Agent for the United Provinces, at public auction, the seventh day of May to be held in Beverly and to be continued from day to day until the whole is sold, the following vessels and cargo, Ship Concord, 150 tons, Jinny, 350 tons, Polly, 80 tons, Brigantines, Nancy, 250 tons, Hannah, 250 tons; Sloops, Sally, 60 tons, Betty, 60 tons." These vessels were condemned at a court held at Ipswich by Judge Pickering March 18, 1776.

tomorrow. You will please pick up such things aboard as you think will be acceptable to her and send as soon as possible, but he wishes to pay for everything." Mr. Bartlett sent the General the fruit and other dainties he had asked for from the cargo of the *Hannah*, but they were not satisfactory, and on investigation it was found that the crew of the *Lee*, Captain Manly's schooner, had looted the best in the vessel. Colonel Moylan notified them that the value of what they had stolen would be deducted from their prize money.

Mr. Bartlett had been requested to bid in the *Hannah*, if she went low enough, and on May 27, 1776, General Artemas Ward writes to Washington: "I beg to inform you that your Agent at Beverly has purchased the brig *Hannah* at four hundred and twenty pounds. This day Capt. Bradford of Boston, having represented to me that he had an order from Robert Morris, Esq., one of the Maritime Committee, to procure a good sailing vessel for the Continental service and that the brig would answer his service. Mr. Morris writes that the brig is wanted to go on a particular service immediately." The particular service was to convey dispatches to our Commissioners in France, and the *Hannah* was taken into the Continental service, given letters of marque papers, loaded with a cargo of fish, renamed *Despatch* and placed under command of Stephen Cleveland of Salem. Captain Cleveland's instructions were to avoid all vessels at sea, make his way to Nantz or Bordeaux, sell his cargo, deliver his dispatches and bring back arms and ammunition. He was also to arm his vessel abroad and fit her for a privateer. Captain Cleveland, with William Herrick of Beverly as lieutenant or mate, sailed soon after. The sale of the *Hannah* was one of the last official acts of Mr. Bartlett, and on June 14, 1776, he was succeeded by Captain Bradford as Agent for the United Provinces.

Besides the so-called privateers already mentioned the State of Massachusetts was building an armed fleet of its own and three of these vessels, the *Tyrannicide* building at Salisbury, and the *Freedom* and the *Republic* at Swansea, were constructed under the supervision of a committee consisting of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., of Beverly and Richard Derby of Salem. Captain Batchelder from his practical knowledge of navigation was a very influential member of the

Massachusetts Legislature and much of the direction of naval affairs was put in his hands. Through his influence, on May 7, 1776, two 18-pound cannon, left by the British when they evacuated Boston, were turned over to the town of Beverly to mount on their defences, and a month later, sixty 18- and twenty 9-pound cannon balls were sent them.

The defences of Beverly harbor in 1776, besides the fort at Salem, consisted of a sand bag battery armed with two field pieces and other works on which were mounted two 18- and two 12-pound cannon. A committee of the General Court sent to view the sea-coast with reference to defensive works, recommended a seven gun battery at Thorndick's Point, a five gun battery at Barret's Point, and a three gun battery at West Beach. This elaborate system of fortification was too costly to be carried out, but batteries were erected at several of the places.

These works were manned at first by a local coast guard and later by Continental and State troops. On June 28, 1776, a resolve was reported in the Provincial Congress to provide forces for the defence of the sea coast, each company to consist of 50 men under direction of the Committee of Correspondence of the town in which they were stationed.¹ One company was stationed in Beverly. Besides the coast guard, Colonel Glover's regiment was ordered to Beverly and remained there until July 22, 1776. When the news reached Beverly that the regiment was ordered to New York, the selectmen petitioned:

To the Hon. Council of the Colony of Mass. Bay in New England.

Your petitioners have six miles of sea-coast offering good landing places and fair road-stead for vessels to lie, and on the most advantageous places have thrown up and erected breastworks and procured a number of cannon, and have had by benevolence of his Excellency, Gen. Washington the 14th regiment stationed in this town for some months, who have received orders to march soon, that is to say to-morrow. We petition therefore for 100 men to guard the seacoast.

In response to this petition, Colonel Henry Herrick² and his regiment were ordered to man the lines at Beverly. Why it should have been thought necessary to keep so many troops at the small town

¹ Journals of the Provincial Congress (1838), pp. 412-413.

² Henry Herrick, son of Henry and Joanna (Woodberry) Herrick, was born October 25, 1716, and died December 16, 1780.

of Beverly does not appear, and the Council evidently thought it uncalled for and on October 25, 1776, ordered Colonel Herrick to discharge officers and private soldiers of his regiment that by order of July 20th had been ordered into the lines at Beverly and discharged the selectmen of the town from furnishing them provisions. The town remained unguarded until November 14th, when the Council ordered that a company of 25 men, including one lieutenant, two sergeants and two corporals, be raised and stationed in the town until further notice. On November 21, 1776, the House requested the Council to give orders to Lieutenant Joseph Wood to take command of 25 men and ordered the selectmen to provide rations as had been done for officers and men stationed there before, not exceeding five shillings a man per week. November 27th the Council ordered Lieutenant Joseph Wood¹ to enlist 25 men, sergeants to receive forty-four, corporals forty, and privates thirty-six shillings a month. Lieutenant Wood was to receive three pounds twelve shillings a month. On December 12, 1777, the Council voted that hereafter at Beverly be stationed one lieutenant, one sergeant, one gunner, and eleven matrosses, the lieutenant to receive five pounds, the sergeant and gunner two pounds and the privates one pound and ten shillings, monthly.

In the autumn of 1779 the Council commandeered one of the 18-pound guns in the batteries at Beverly, and in February, 1780, took two of the 9 pounders for their new State vessel, the *Protector*. On October 4, 1780, the coast guard at Beverly was reduced to one corporal and three matrosses, and this force was continued until the close of the war.

So far as the writer can ascertain, there were but four cases in the Revolutionary War where British armed vessels came within range of the sea-port towns included in the Bay from Marblehead to Cape Ann. The first, August 9, 1775, when the boats of the *Falcon* were so roughly handled at Gloucester; the second, August 29th of the same year, when the prize ship *Isaac* was chased into Marblehead harbor and the fort opened fire on her pursuer, the *Milford* frigate;

¹ Joseph Wood, son of Joseph and Ruth (Haskell) Wood, was town clerk of Beverly for thirty-seven years, selectman, assessor, representative, and member of the Committee of Public Safety and Correspondence. He died January 21, 1808.

the third, the affair of the *Nautilus* in Beverly harbor; and the fourth, when the privateer *Starks* was chased into Salem harbor by two frigates.

II

As early as November 1, 1775, an act was passed by the Massachusetts Legislature empowering the Council to commission with letters of marque and reprisal any person or persons within the colony, to fit out and equip at their own expense, for the defence of America, any vessel, and general authority to take all vessels of the enemy. The master of the private armed vessel was required to give bonds as principal with two good names as securities in order to satisfy any claim that might be made for illegal capture. The bond was \$5,000 for vessels under 100 tons and \$10,000 for vessels of 100 tons and over. Later it was found that deserters from the Continental army often enlisted on private armed vessels, and such vessels were put under bond not to take on board any soldier from the Continental army or any man not a citizen of Massachusetts. Bonds were also required that the crews of any vessel captured should be brought as prisoners into the State and not, as was often done, set free on some worthless prize to avoid expense. This was really in the interest of the privateersmen themselves and if faithfully carried out would have saved many of them long confinement in English prisons, but prisoners were a dangerous freight to carry and the bond was often evaded, although English prisoners were needed in Massachusetts as material for exchange. It is from these bonds, necessarily signed by some of the owners, that much of our information about the vessels is obtained.

The first private armed vessels commissioned under the authority of the State were privateers as distinguished from letters of marque. That is, they were empowered and used to cruise against the enemies of America, and not merely merchant vessels armed to resist aggression and authorized to take prizes. A privateer was in most respects, except ownership, a close imitation of our state and national vessels, and its officers received the same titles as in the regular service. A letter of marque was a merchant vessel cleared for some port with a cargo, though she might sail in ballast, but armed to resist aggression and authorized to take any of the enemy's vessels that came in

her way. The officers received the same titles as were used in the merchant service. With the letter of marque the capture of prizes was incidental, with the privateer it was the business of the cruise. The letter of marque was usually lighter armed and carried a much smaller crew than a privateer of the same tonnage.

The first private armed vessels sailing from Massachusetts in 1776 were small craft taken from the merchant service and not especially adapted to the work in which they were engaged. Many were sloops, some were schooners, but the favorite rig was the brigantine. These carried a large spanker with a square, instead of a gaff, topsail on the main mast. They were armed with light cannon, old fashioned swivel guns, blunderbusses, and a few muskets and pikes. The cannon used were long guns, as distinguished from carronades, and so far as the writer can ascertain, with one exception, no carronades¹ were used on American private armed vessels during the war. The uniform of the officers and men on Massachusetts privateers was white and green, and the flag first carried was a green pine on a white ground.

The rations allowed a privateer's crew were what the owner pleased, but as private armed vessels were obliged to compete for seamen with the State vessels, it is probable that the fare on the two did not materially differ. The allowance of provisions for each officer and mariner as prescribed by the State October 12, 1776, was as follows: one pound of bread, one pound of beef or pork, one gill of rice and one gill of rum daily. Peas or beans to the amount of half a pint or a pound of potatoes or turnips might be substituted for the rice. Three-quarters of a pound of butter and one-half a pint of vinegar was allowed weekly. Division of prize money was usually made in the proportion of two parts to the owners and one to the officers and crew of the vessel, but there was no arbitrary rule. It is a disputed question whether the officers and crew of a privateer received wages in addition to their share of the prize money; they undoubtedly did receive wages on a letter of marque.

¹ In the New York Gazette of April 22, 1780, is an advertisement offering 12 and 13 pound carronades, imported direct from the Carron foundry, for use in privateers. "They can be discharged," says the advertisement, "every three minutes, which doubles the strength against an enemy of equal force. The carronade weighs one third as much as a long gun of the same calibre and the powder charge is only one twelfth the weight of the ball." The long gun could be discharged once in six minutes.

No privateer sailing from Beverly received a commission from the Massachusetts Council prior to September 4, 1776, but several were so commissioned in which Beverly capital was interested. The earliest of these was the *Revenge*, owned by Joseph Lee of Beverly and Miles Greenwood of Salem and commissioned May 14, 1776.

The *Revenge* was a sloop of 90 tons burden, armed with twelve four- and six-pounders, and carrying a crew of 60 men. She was commanded in rapid succession by Joseph White, Benjamin Warren, Edward Gibaut, and Benjamin Dean, all of Salem. Her first two prizes, the ships *Anna Maria* and *Polly*, were among the first cases tried in our prize courts. On April 29, 1776, at the same term of court, Bartholemew Putnam and Andrew Cabot libelled the ship *Lord Dartmore* of 300 tons, seized and taken in Danvers between high and low water mark. A little later, August 9th, John Gardiner of Salem commissioned two schooners, the *Gen. Gates* and the *Harlequin* in which Andrew Cabot of Beverly was interested. One of them, the *Harlequin*, under the name *Sally*, had been employed by Mr. Cabot in the Spanish trade.

The first privateer owned in and sailing from Beverly was the brigantine *Retaliation* owned by Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and others of Beverly. She was of 70 tons burden, carried ten two- and four-pound guns, nine swivels, and 70 men. Her commander, Eleazer Giles of Beverly,¹ was commissioned September 4, 1776. The petition for the commission, dated September 2, 1776, states that the *Retaliation* has on board 50 barrels of beef and pork, 4000 pounds of bread, 500 pounds of powder, 25 muskets, 30 cutlasses, and 10 lances. While the *Retaliation* was fitting out in Beverly, Josiah Batchelder, Jr., had petitioned the General Court for an order on Samuel Phillips at his mill in Andover for 500 pounds of powder at five shillings a pound. A lack of powder was one of the perplexities of the new Republic and on January 6, 1776, the Massachusetts Council, in order to encourage its manufacture in the Colony, agreed to furnish Samuel Phillips at his mill in Andover sulphur and salt-

¹ Eleazar Giles was born in Danvers, but removed to Beverly; commanded several privateers during the war and lost his leg in action on board the *Saratoga*; died in Liverpool, England.

As a rule the names of only the commanders or captains of vessels are mentioned in the text. For the names of other officers, see section viii, pp. 405-424, below.

petre at cost and give him a bonus of eight pence a pound on all powder manufactured. In order to obtain powder it was necessary to petition the General Court, which fixed the price and did not always allow the quantity asked for.

Captain Giles on his first cruize headed for the West Indies and was lucky enough to fall in with the Jamaica fleet and take four rich prizes, the brigantine *Hiram* and the ships *Success*, *St. Lucie*, and *Alfred*.¹ The largest ship, the *St. Lucie* of 350 tons, carried 500 hogsheads of sugar and 20 puncheons of rum, and the wharves of the Beverly merchants once more presented a busy spectacle.

Other privateers were equally successful, and so much sugar was brought into the State that on January 3, 1777, the General Court granted permission for vessels to export sugar to the amount of twelve hogsheads for every 100 tons the vessel registered. The people began to feel need of food rather than sugar and rum.

The *Retaliation*, as a letter of marque, sailed for Charleston with a full cargo of sugar, bringing back rice and naval stores. Some time in the autumn of 1777 the *Retaliation* was taken by an English vessel and carried into Halifax. Eleazer Giles was the first Beverly captain taken prisoner, but he did not remain long in confinement, and in April or May of the following year returned to Beverly in the cartel *Industry*. We shall hear of him again in connection with other vessels.

In the history of Beverly privateers no name occurs so frequently as that of Andrew Cabot, but in 1776 he seemed to confine his investments to vessels sailing from other ports. Besides those already mentioned he was part owner in the *Sturdy Beggar*, *Rover* and *Reprisal*.

The *Sturdy Beggar* was a schooner of 90 tons, carrying 6 guns and 20 men, owned by Mr. Cabot's friend, Elias H. Derby of Salem. Her first captain was Peter Landen of Salem, followed in a few weeks by the celebrated Allen Hallet, later by Edward Rowland. On February 24, 1777, the *Sturdy Beggar*, Captain Rowland, is reported taken by an English vessel, and in June the crew were committed to Mill Prison. A few years later another *Sturdy Beggar*, this time a brigantine, under Philip Lefavour of Marblehead, was sailing from Salem in which there is reason to suppose Mr. Cabot

¹ George Child, an Englishman, on the *St. Lucie*, from Jamaica for Bristol, had a private adventure on board which Capt. Giles generously restored to him.

was also interested. The second *Sturdy Beggar* was reported wrecked on the coast of France.

The *Rover*, owned by John Derby, Andrew Cabot and others, was a sloop of 60 tons, armed with eight carriage and ten swivel guns and two cohorns. Her first captain was Simon Forrester, also a part owner, and her early cruizes were very successful. The New York Mercury of October 22, 1776, reports that the sloop *Rover*, Captain Forrester, during a calm, by the aid of sweeps overtook and captured the English ship *Mary and James* from Falmouth, England. She was a rich prize and her captain on his arrival at New York complained bitterly of the treatment he had received on board the *Rover*. "Worse than pirates" he calls his captors. The *Mary and James*, 129 tons, the brigantine *Good Intent*, 100 tons, and the *Sarah Ann*, 100 tons, prizes to the *Rover*, were all libelled October 24, 1776.¹

On September 20, 1776, Job Prince and Samuel White of Boston, agents for themselves and Jacob Fowler, Andrew Cabot, John Coffin Jones and Benjamin Hichbourne, owners of the brigantine *Reprisal* of 70 tons and 8 guns, petition that John Wheelwright be appointed commander of said vessel. How large an interest Mr. Cabot had in the *Reprisal* is not stated.

The second privateer owned in and sailing from Beverly was the brigantine *Washington* of 90 tons, carrying 12 six and four-pound cannon and a crew of 80 men.² She was owned by John Dyson,³ Thomas Davis and others of Beverly, and commanded by Elias Smith. Elias Smith, though a resident of Beverly, was a native of Virginia, possessing all that courtesy of manner, carelessness of dress and fiery pugnacity which characterized the men of the Old Dominion. "Are you the Captain of this vessel?" was the rather contemptuous inquiry of the commander of a conquered ship, come aboard to surrender his sword. "In default of a better," replied Captain Smith, drawing himself up to his full height — he was only five feet tall —

¹ The *Rover*, Capt. Adam Wellman of Beverly, was captured in 1780.

² The Beverly Historical Society owns a printed handbill reading: "Now fitting for a Privateer, In the harbor of Beverly, the Brigantine Washington. A strong, good vessel for that purpose and a prime sailer. Any Seaman or Landsman that has an inclination to make their Fortunes in a few months may have an opportunity by applying to John Dyson. Beverly, Sept. 7, 1776."

³ John Dyson (1742-1828) was born in England.

and bowing low. The story is told that after the war a relation of his who felt himself insulted asked his advice as to fighting a duel. "Fight him!" said the old veteran, "Fight him! Fight him!"

Captain Smith sailed from Beverly soon after he was commissioned, to join the fleet under Captain Manly. These cruizes with Captain Manly were quite a feature during the first two years of the war, and were not very popular with the owners and officers of private armed vessels. The idea was that five or six vessels could cover a large extent of water and still be within supporting distance of each other and take more prizes proportionally than when cruising singly. Under the articles of agreement, however, the privateer became a sort of contract vessel and for a specified time passed out of the control of her owner. The officers, too, of these privateers by no means relished being under the orders of a man whom they refused to consider as their superior, and much complaint and bickering ensued. The articles of agreement between the State and the owners of the *Washington* are a type of all these contracts:

Articles of Agreement between the Council of the Great and General Court and Thomas Davis and John Dyson of Beverly, Merchants, owners of the *Washington* brigantine, a privateer vessel of war bound for cruise of 25 days in company with a fleet of Continental vessels and other ships under Capt. Manly's command. That in case of accident the State agrees to insure the vessel to the full amount of her cost against all dangers of sea and English ships while under Capt. Manly's command. All ammunition expended to be made good by the State. Any prize taken by the fleet to be divided equally among the whole fleet even if one by accident be absent. Owners of the *Washington* to give bonds to the amount of 6000 pounds that they will keep this agreement and obey Capt. Manly's orders.¹

After his cruise with Captain Manly, Captain Smith returned to Beverly and then cruized on his own account, sending in eight prizes. The *Washington* was reported taken by the *Levant* in 1777.

The only other privateer sailing from Beverly in 1776 was the schooner *Warren*. She was owned by Josiah Batchelder, Eleazer Giles and others of Beverly and commanded by Israel Thorndike, who remained in command until the next spring, when he was

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cexv. 442.

succeeded by Nicholas Ogleeby. Captain Ogleeby made two cruizes in the *Warren*, and was succeeded by John Ravell of Salem.

Soon after sailing, December 27, 1777, Captain Ravell fell in with the English letter of marque *Tom*, Captain John Lee, mounting 26 six-pounders, and after a spirited defence of three hours was obliged to surrender. As the *Warren* carried only five guns and ten swivels she was, of course, no match for her powerful adversary. The *Tom* received little damage, but the *Warren* had lost her mainmast and was so much cut up that Captain Lee did not consider her worth taking in but threw her guns and ammunition overboard and left her to her own crew. The *Warren* lost one man killed and two wounded. For nine days Captain Ravell and his men worked hard to repair damages and had made some progress, but on February 6th were again captured by the English ship *Fanny*, from New York for Liverpool, and were carried to that city and confined in Mill Prison.

Some time in the spring of 1776 Robert Haskell¹ of Beverly obtained permission from the Council to sail from Nova Scotia in his fishing schooner, the *Dove*, with a crew of four men, taking with him as cargo one barrel of pork, 200 pounds of bread, sixteen gallons of molasses, two bushels of salt, and a half bushel of beans. The trade with Nova Scotia which went on throughout the war will be considered at length in another section, but this permission, like others, was really a blind to cover a secret expedition in search of information. Haskell had removed with his family to Nova Scotia in 1762, but returned to Beverly in 1774 to resume his fishing business. He easily obtained information without exciting suspicion and returned home having fully accomplished his purpose.

On July 2, 1776 the Council requested Josiah Batchelder, Jr., of Beverly to obtain for them a small vessel to be used as a spy vessel and a suitable man to command it. Captain Batchelder once more sought out Robert Haskell, and on July 13th sent him with the following letter to the Council:

To the Hon. Council of the Colony of Mass. Bay.

These to acquaint you that I have hired and fitted out a small vessel for the purpose of obtaining information of the motions of the fleet and armies of our enemies.

¹ Robert Haskell, son of William and Mary (Lovett) Haskell, was born April 2, 1736, and died June 17, 1789.

Capt. Haskell who will remit you this letter is to be intrusted with the business. It is needless to recommend him as he has made one voyage already in your employ and he now awaits your orders.

N.B. I have found it very difficult to find a suitable vessel.

Captain Batchelder finally found two vessels in Beverly, one of them the *Dove*, which answered his purpose, and for some months Captain Haskell remained in the secret service of the State.

On October 15, 1776, the General Court resolved that a Naval Officer be appointed for each port, to take manifests under oath of all cargoes imported and exported, give bills of health, and sign permissions to go to sea. On November 21, 1776, Warwick Palfrey of Salem was appointed Naval Officer of the port of Salem, which of course included Beverly.

III

The year 1777 opened gloomily for the young Republic. "Food is getting scarce and money scarcer," writes George Williams to Colonel Pickering. The fishing industry, the basis of all exports from New England, was ruined and the sole hope of the seaport towns lay in privateering. The first vessel, owned in Beverly, commissioned in 1777, was the *True American* of 90 tons, carrying 10 four-pound guns and a crew of 70 men. She was owned by Andrew Cabot and on April 29, 1777, John Buffinton of Salem was commissioned commander. It may seem strange that a Beverly merchant should go outside his own town to officer his vessel, but Captain Buffinton and Andrew Cabot had long been associated in the Spanish trade and the captain of a privateer was usually allowed to pick his own officers. Moreover this was not the *True American's* first cruise. She had sailed from Salem the previous year under Captain Daniel Hathorne, later under Captain William Carleton, on petition of Benjamin Goodhue and others, though it is probable that Andrew Cabot held an interest in her from the first. On her first cruise under Captain Hathorne, the *True American* sent in two prizes, the brigantine *Anny* and the *Unity*, but in an attack on an English packet was roughly handled and beaten off with the loss of three men killed and ten wounded. Captain Hathorne was wounded and gave up the vessel to Captain Carleton.

Under Captain Buffinton, the *True American* made her first cruise with Captain Manly, and on her return, with a crew of 25 men sailed as a letter of marque for Bilbao. This port was the Mecca at which, sooner or later, all American privateers cruising in European waters finally arrived. Captain Lee of the *Hawk*, on his arrival at Salem in the autumn of 1776, reported 18 American privateers in that port when he left. Business relations between the merchants of Massachusetts and Bilbao had been close before the war, and now it was the most convenient port in which to sell their prizes and refit. It was also a place where most owners had an agent from whom money could be obtained on account, and a visit to Bilbao meant a chance for a spree.

The Spaniards did not look with approval on the wild privateersmen as they marched singing through the narrow streets or caroused in the wine shops, but if they did not love the Americans, they liked their money and contented themselves with silent cursing.

The *True American* was consigned to Joseph Gardoqui & Sons, Bilbao, and Captain Buffinton was directed to cruise awhile in the Bay of Biscay and take a prize or two if possible. While in Bilbao the rig of the *True American* was changed from that of a schooner to a brig. The next year the *True American*, still under Captain Buffinton, made another voyage to Bilbao, and on her return passed into other hands.

On April 26, 1777, some of the merchants of Boston, knowing the condition of the State treasury, started a fund to be lent to the State to build and fit out two cruisers to protect the coast, and to this fund Andrew Cabot of Beverly subscribed £1000.

One of the most successful privateers sailing from Beverly during the war was the *Oliver Cromwell*. As first commissioned, she was a brigantine of 162 tons, carrying 16 guns and 120 men. Her owners were George, John and Andrew Cabot, Joseph Lee and others. On her first cruise she was commanded by Captain William Cole and was very successful, sending in eleven prizes. The following extracts from her log show how some of them were taken:

July 30th 1777, Fair, raw, cold, wind rough and sea. Sent our boat aboard the prize. Took out Mr. Dyer and one of the band and sent Mr. French to take command and carry her into Bilbao



A WEST VIEW of the Town

- | | | |
|---|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Parroq ^a de Santiago | 5. N. ^a S. ^a de Bejoña | 9. La Encarnacion |
| 2. de S. ^a Ant ^o Abad | 6. S. ^a Francisco | 10. La Cruz |
| 3. de S. ^a Juan | 7. S. ^a Agustín | 11. S. ^a Mencia |
| 4. de S. ^a Nicolás | 8. La Comp ^a de Jesus | 12. La Esperanza |

Published according to act of Parliament & sold by Edw^d Nave

*Engraved for The Volontary
from a print owned by C.*



BILBAO in VIZCAYA.

Morced	17 La Plaza Mayor	21 Bilbao la Vieja
Concepcion	18 Casa Consistorial	22 Paso R ^o del Fierro
V ^o de Abando	19 Portal de Zamudio	
Hospital	20 El Prado del Arenal	

can at J. Göttsche's Spectacles fronting the Royal Exchange London 1766

city of Massachusetts
Thorndike House, N.Y.



July 31st Fair, pleasant weather. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3, A.M. saw the sail again and gave chase. At 4 gave her a gun and brought her to. She was a small sloop called the Three Sisters, about 60 tons loaded with butter and sheep guts. Sent her into Bilboa.

Aug. 2nd, Fair, light breeze and smooth sea. Early A.M. saw a sail and judged her to be Capt. Lee of Marblehead, privateer brig,¹ fired two guns to leeward in token of friendship. At 10 sent a small boat on board to bring him on board to dinner. He came on board us accordingly and informs us he has taken nine prizes, some of which were retaken, and some in ballast which he gave up to his prisoners and four he had sent home, laden with bale goods and provisions. Agreed to keep us company and cruise in concert several days.

Aug. 6th at 3 P.M. saw two brigs. Everything being prepared for battle we advanced. One of them began to fire but we took no notice until near when we gave her two broadsides. Finally she struck. We then bore up for the other brig and kept up an incessant fire for three glasses. She returned our fire for some time and then wore off. The other during engagement kept up a fire on us with her bow chasers. Now we began to think of the man of war which had been in chase of us all day, then we judged it best to give up the assault for the night. The engagement lasted three glasses in which Capt. Cole and all the officers behaved with great courage. The first Lieutenant was wounded in both thighs, one or two other men slightly wounded, none killed. Our brig received several shots in the hull and rigging.

The next year, 1778, Thomas Simmons of Salem was commissioned commander and she continued to send in prizes. While under Captain Simmons her rig was changed to that of a ship. On August 11, 1779, James Barr was commissioned commander and still she was successful. On her return to Salem September 30, 1780, however, she came in minus her main and mizzen mast which she had lost in a severe hurricane, and on January 15, 1781, her agent, Edward Allen, advertises the *Oliver Cromwell* for sale, "Stores, guns and provisions." She was purchased by J. & A. Cabot, William Bartlett, Nathan Leach and others of Beverly, refitted and placed

¹ The privateer schooner *Hawk* of Marblehead. On her arrival at Bilbao she was complained of as an illegal privateer. The prime minister of Spain, the Marquis of Grimaldi, decided that the *Hawk* was within her rights and ordered that American vessels, privateer or merchant, should be treated like any neutrals.

under the command of John Bray of Marblehead. On the back of the petition for Captain Bray's commission at the State Archives is written: "John Bray, Commander of the within named ship is 41 years of age, 5 feet, 8 inches in stature, and dark complexioned. Thomas Brown, 1st Lieutenant, 34 years of age, 5 feet, 2 inches in stature and dark complexioned." Under Captain Bray the wonderful luck of the *Oliver Cromwell* no longer continued, and in August, 1781, while "dogging" the Quebec fleet she was taken by an English frigate and carried into Newfoundland.

On petition of George Cabot and others, July 5, 1777, Benjamin Warren was commissioned commander of the brigantine *Hampden* of 120 tons, 14 four-pound guns and 120 men. She was largely owned in Salem and was fairly successful.

The last privateer commissioned from Beverly in 1777 was the schooner *Scorpion* of 50 tons, carrying 14 swivel and 2 carriage guns and a crew of 40 men. On petition of Joseph White and Miles Greenwood, Israel Thorndike was commissioned commander. The *Scorpion* was owned by Josiah Batchelder, Jr., Israel Thorndike and others, and was later commanded by Benjamin Niles, Perry Howland, and Benjamin Ives.

The year 1777 had been a fairly good one for the owners of Beverly privateers and those having money were prepared to make further ventures. The private armed vessels in 1776-1777 were necessarily merchant craft, by no means fitted for the business in which they were engaged, but as these were either taken or discarded, a larger and faster type took their place. The first Beverly privateer commissioned in 1778 was the *Terrible Creature*, owned by George and Andrew Cabot and others. She was a heavily armed vessel of unknown tonnage, carrying 16 six-pounders and a crew of 100 men. She was not a new vessel and had probably sailed under another name. Some say she was the *Oliver Cromwell* rechristened, but this does not seem possible. Her first commission does not appear in the State Archives, but we know from other sources that she made at least one voyage to Bilbao before March 9, 1778, the date of her commission at the State House. Nathaniel West of Salem was at Bilbao when the *Terrible Creature* touched there and returned on her as a passenger to Salem. On April 4, 1778, forty-two of the officers and crew signed the following order: "The undersigned,

going on a cruize against the enemies of their State in the privateer *Terrible Creature*, Robert Richardson, Commander, do hereby appoint Simon Forrester and Isaac White jointly and severally our Agents." The names of the 43 are given, and the only ones indicating a Beverly origin are John Picket, Charles Corning, Isaac Trask and William Homans. As the crew numbered 100 men, however, it is probable that those from Beverly preferred an agent in their own town. On her second cruize, March 9, 1778, the commander of the *Terrible Creature* was Robert Richardson of Beverly. On her third cruize under Captain West she was fortunate enough to strike a fleet of English merchant vessels soon after leaving Salem and took so many that she was obliged to return immediately to Salem to ship new men.

On April 20th of the same year a still more formidable vessel, but with a more pacific name, was put in commission by Beverly owners. This was the brigantine *Franklin* of 200 tons, carrying 18 six-pounders, and a crew of 100 men. She was owned by J. & A. Cabot of Beverly and Bartholomew Putnam of Salem. Her first captain was Thomas Connolly, followed the same autumn by John Leach, with Jacob Oliver, a Beverly man, as lieutenant. Captain Leach sailed from Salem November 4th and on the 17th took a snow with 300 quintals of fish. Four days later he engaged a brig mounting 16 guns, from England for Antigua, laden with dry goods, and captured her after a few broadsides. On the 25th he took another brig, and during the cruize sent in several other prizes.

In 1779 the *Franklin* was commanded by the famous Joseph Robinson of Salem, and while under his command her rig was changed from that of a brigantine to a ship. Under Captain Robinson, the *Franklin* cruized with varying success in the West Indies, and when, on March 24, 1780, he was promoted to the *Pilgrim*, John Turner of Marblehead took his place. The next year Allen Hallet of Boston, a man who held more public and private naval positions during the war than any other mariner in Massachusetts, was commissioned commander. On the back of Allen Hallet's petition is indorsed, "John Allen Hallet, master of the within ship, is 37 years of age, 6 feet, 6 inches tall and of dark complexion. Silas Devol, 1st Lieutenant, is 6 feet tall, 40 years of age and dark." On December 24, 1781, Captain Hallet for some reason left the *Franklin*, and Silas

Devol took his place. In 1782, the *Franklin*, Captain Devol, cruising in the West Indies, joined with several Beverly and Salem vessels in an expedition against Tortola. The vessels associated with the *Franklin* were the *Porus*, Captain Carnes; the *Junius Brutus*, Captain Brooks; the *Pilgrim*, Captain Robinson; the *Mohock*, Captain Smith; and the *Fair American*. It was intended to surprise Tortola, but the inhabitants were forewarned and the expedition was a failure. The only prize was the former Salem privateer, *Maccaroni*, which had recently been captured by an English vessel. A little later the *Franklin* was taken by the English frigates, *Amphitrite* and *Assurance*.

Although large and heavily armed vessels were necessary to encounter and capture the equally heavily armed English letter of marque ships, there was also a profitable field for vessels of small tonnage and light armament. Probably more than half the prizes taken by our American privateers were recaptured by the English, a small prize crew put aboard and the vessel ordered to some English port. These vessels and the lighter armed British merchant vessels could be taken by a privateer of very slight force. Such a privateer was the little sloop *Fly*, owned by Benjamin Lovett¹ and Andrew Cabot of Beverly. She was only 50 tons burthen, armed with 4 carriage and 8 swivel guns, and carrying a crew of 40 men. August 29th, 1778, John Marsh was commissioned commander with Ezra Ober as 1st lieutenant, both Beverly men.

Another vessel of this class at one time owned in Beverly, though no record of it appears in the State Archives, was the schooner *Centipede*. For three years at least, perhaps longer, she sent in prize after prize and, run as she was at small expense, must have been immensely profitable to her owners. She was 45 tons burthen, carrying 16 swivel guns and 35 men. Her first commission was issued December 23, 1777, when on petition of Elias H. Derby, Joseph White and Miles Greenwood, William Langdon of Salem was commissioned as captain and the vessel called *Cent. Peid*. In her bond, however, given some days before, she is called *Santape*. On May 14, 1778, she libelled the prize schooner Betty under the name of *Centi Pea*. She was commissioned again in 1778 and this

¹ Benjamin Lovett (1756-1804), son of Benjamin and Hannah (Kilham) Lovett.

time she was called *Cent. Pede*, changed on her bond to *Cent Pea*, and on her libel against the schooner Bickford to *Saint te Pee*. August 12, 1779, Joseph Pratt was commissioned commander of the armed cruiser *Centipie* and August 12, 1779, Gideon Henfield libels several prizes sent in by schooner *Centipede*.¹ In 1778 this vessel of many names was owned by Josiah Batchelder of Beverly, Livermore Whittredge being agent.

Some time in the autumn of 1777 a number of Beverly and Salem gentlemen gave an order to William Swett of Salisbury to build them a ship intended to be the largest, fastest, and most heavily armed privateer ever launched from our Massachusetts ship yards. The name given her was the *Black Prince*, a rather unusual choice at a time when most American privateers were named after famous republicans, local or Roman, and one that rabid patriots must have cavilled at. She was ship rigged, measured 220 tons, carried 18 guns and a crew of 130 men and was commissioned June 17, 1778, with Elias Smith of Beverly as commander. No other privateer sailed from Salem during the war in which so many Beverly men were interested. George Cabot, J. & A. Cabot, Moses Brown, Israel Thorndike, Larkin Thorndike,² John Lovett, Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and Benjamin Lovett all held shares. Under Captain Smith she was fairly successful, sending in a number of prizes, but on October 19, 1778, Captain Smith was succeeded by Nathaniel West of Salem, and from that time, though not through any fault of her captain, her luck changed.

On June 30, 1779, the *Black Prince*, Captain West, had just returned from a long and unsuccessful voyage and was preparing in Salem harbor for a raid on the Quebec fleet, due the following month. The State, about to engage in the Penobscot expedition, sent George Williams and Jonathan Peele to Salem with a request, almost a command, that the *Black Prince* join the fleet they were forming. The owners, against their better judgment, yielded and June 19, 1778, the *Black Prince*, Captain West, joined the fleet at Boothbay

¹ From December 25, 1777, to April 29, 1780, she bore the following names: *Cent Picd*, *Santape*, *Cent. Pede*, *Cent. Pca*, *Cent. a Pede*, *Santipe*, *Sentipe*, *Cent. Peid*, *Centipede*, *Centi Pea*, *Saint te Pic*, *Centipie*.

² Larkin Thorndike (1730-1786) was captain of the minute-men who marched to Concord in 1775.

and took part in the unfortunate expedition. The *Black Prince* shared the fate of the other American privateers, but her crew escaped to shore. The *Black Prince* was insured by the State to the amount of £100,000 and after some years' delay her owners were paid, principal and interest. John Lovett received £272, George Cabot £224, Benjamin Lovett £464, the other Beverly owners received compensation in another way.

Two privateers in which Beverly gentlemen were largely interested, the *Black Prince* and the *Defence*, were in the unfortunate Penobscot expedition. The latter, a brig of 170 tons, armed with 16 six-pounders and carrying a crew of 100 men, was owned by Andrew Cabot and Moses Brown and commanded by Captain John Edmonds of Beverly. Both were run on shore and destroyed when the British fleet entered Penobscot harbor. Some of the Beverly merchants obtained or tried to obtain advances from the State prior to the general settlement, and on September 22, 1782, Larkin Thorndike of Beverly, "Part owner of the *Black Prince* and *Defence*, having met with misfortunes at sea which has reduced him of almost his whole trading stock exclusive of what he has loaned to the Government, having bought the forfeited estate of John Landell Borland, Esq. begs that you will loan him part of the money due from the State, which is 600 pounds, lawful money." The estate bought by Larkin Thorndike was a tract of land situated in Danvers, Topsfield and Middleton, and the State allowed him £400. Andrew Cabot tried much the same plan. The State owed for the *Defence* £105,000. Mr. Cabot bought from the State the forfeited real estate of Lieutenant-Governor Oliver at Lechmere's Point, Cambridge, and gave his note for the same. When the note came due he offered to give the State credit for the £94,000 he had paid for the property on the sum due him for the *Defence*, but the State refused. He finally received £4245 for his half of the *Defence*. September 20, 1779, Brown and Thorndike petitioned the Council:

To the Honorable, the Council of the State of Massachusetts Bay.

Whereas your petitioners, part owners of the armed ship *Black Prince* and armed brigantine *Defence*, did agree to fit out said ship and brigantine for the expedition against Penobscot and had the misfortune to have them destroyed while in the service of the State, which misfortune has deprived them of by far the greatest part of their interest and

renders them unable to carry on their business in navigation unless their contract with the Board of War be carried out. Therefore, your petitioners pray that they be furnished with 32 six pound cannon belonging to the State to enable them to cruise against the enemies of the United States.

Of all the privateers sailing from Beverly during the war, the *Pilgrim* was the most famous and probably the most successful. She was very fortunate in her commanders and is said to have been built for her owner, Mr. Cabot,¹ at Newburyport under supervision of her first captain, Hugh Hill. She was ship rigged, measured 200 tons and carried 16 nine-pounders and a crew of 140 men. On September 12, 1778, Hugh Hill of Beverly was commissioned commander. Hugh Hill, the man chosen to command the finest privateer sailing from Beverly, was the beau ideal of a privateer captain.² Born at Carrickfergus, Ireland, in 1741 he had come to this country when a young man, settling in Marblehead. He was of good family, a cousin of Andrew Jackson, the future president of the United States, and an enthusiast in the cause of American liberty. Of immense size, muscular beyond the common, courageous almost to rashness, courteous to the fair sex and not burdened with scruples, he had all the characteristics which might have made him a famous captain in the days of Drake. The story is told of him that on one occasion while at L'Orient, France, a French gentleman in a cabaret felt himself insulted by some word or action of the reckless privateersman. "I will send my seconds to you in the morning," said the Frenchman. "What is the matter with here and now?" said Hugh Hill, drawing two pistols from his belt and offering one to the Frenchman. There was no duel.

Hugh Hill remained in command of the *Pilgrim* until March 24, 1780, and during that time sent into Beverly as prizes the ships *Francesco di Paula* of 250 tons, the *Anna and Eliza* of 120 tons, the bark *Success* of 120 tons, the brigantine *Neustra Senora de Merced*, of 120 tons, the *Hopewell* of 115 tons, the *Three Brothers* of 130 tons, the *Pallas* of 100 tons, the *Gold Wire* of 130 tons, the snow *Diana*

¹ The *Pilgrim* was owned by John and Andrew Cabot, Joseph Lee, George Cabot, Moses Brown, Samuel Cabot, Francis Cabot, Jonathan Jackson, Joshua Wood, and Stephen Cleveland. Andrew Cabot owned a little less than one-half in 1780. Salem gentlemen owned 16/96ths. (Nathan Dane Papers.)

² A portrait of Hugh Hill faces p. 320, above.

of 160 tons, the *Brandywine* and *Lord Sandwich*. These were vessels which reached Beverly; more than double the number were sent into foreign ports, or retaken. One of these prizes, the *Francesco di Paula*, was the cause of long litigation and came near causing international complications with Spain. The case was one, common in war time, of an English-owned ship named *Valenciano*, rechristened *Francesco di Paula* and put under Spanish colors. Joachi di Luca was her nominal and Peter White her real captain. The *Francesco* was condemned in our State courts but the case was appealed to Congress, where the fear of offending Spain kept the case undecided for a long time. Finally the ship was condemned and the cargo returned to its owners.

While in command of the *Pilgrim*, Captain Hill had several sharp encounters with English vessels. March 14, 1779, the *Pilgrim* engaged the letter of marque brig *Success*, Captain Nixon, of 12 guns and 30 men. The *Success* was, of course, no match for the *Pilgrim*, but she put up a stiff fight and did not surrender until most of her officers were killed or wounded. After the battle, Captain Hill cruized on the Irish coast, taking several prizes, and then ran into Sligo Bay and set free all his prisoners. He had taken eight prizes in six weeks.

On March 24, 1780, Captain Hill resigned command of the *Pilgrim* and was succeeded by Joseph Robinson of Salem. Captain Robinson, like Hugh Hill, was a man of imposing presence, a good sailor and a good fighter. Under him the *Pilgrim* was as successful as under her first commander, and up to October 12, 1782, had sent into Beverly twelve prizes besides numerous others sent into France, Spain, and Martinique. One of the prizes sent in in 1782 was the frigate built, copper bottomed ship *Mars* carrying 8 eighteen and 16 nine-pound guns and a crew of 84 men. The *Mars* was taken after a sharp battle lasting three hours in which the English vessel lost her captain and seven others killed and eighteen wounded.

One of the best contested privateer engagements of the war was the encounter between the *Pilgrim* and the English ship *Mary*. On January 5, 1781, when cruizing in the West Indies, Captain Robinson sighted a large ship and gave chase. The *Pilgrim* gained on the stranger, which made no effort either to seek or avoid an encounter. Captain Robinson, uncertain as to her real force, set English colors

and by half-past four was within hailing distance of her starboard quarter. The usual questions were asked and answered, the strange vessel reporting herself as the letter of marque ship *Mary*, Captain Stoward, while the *Pilgrim* gave her name as the *Success*, Captain Robinson, from Barbados. Captain Robinson then set American colors and fired the first broadside. This was immediately answered by the *Mary*, and the two ships lay yard arm to yard arm, exchanging broadsides and plying each other with musketry. Unfortunately for the *Mary*, her captain early in the action received a musket ball in the shoulder; but still keeping his feet he encouraged his crew to renewed exertions, until, struck by a piece of langrage in the head, he fell to the deck mortally wounded. Captain Stoward lived but a few moments, and his last words to the mate bade him keep up the fight. This the mate did until midnight, but while the broadsides of the two vessels were almost equally effective, the musketry fire from the *Pilgrim* was the more accurate and deadly. Finally the *Mary*, with several of her guns dismounted, three feet of water in her hold, five men killed and seventeen wounded, was obliged to surrender. The *Pilgrim* had her spars and rigging much cut up, several shots between wind and water, and could be kept afloat only by constant pumping.

The English account of the engagement, published in Rivington's Royal Gazette, states that the ship *Mary*, Captain Moses Stoward, sailed from Cork November 20 as a letter of marque. She was a vessel of 400 tons, armed with 22 guns and carried a crew of 82 men. December 28 she fell in with a Spanish frigate of 28 guns, and after an engagement of three hours the Spanish vessel sheered off. The *Mary* lost her fore and main topmasts in the action and had not completed repairs when she met the *Pilgrim*. According to the Gazette, Captain Robinson treated his prisoners with great kindness and courtesy, but the English officers and men left aboard the captured vessel were robbed of their watches, money and other personal effects. On their way to port the English prisoners plotted to retake the *Mary* and would have been successful, says the writer, had not the second mate decided to enlist in the American service, and betrayed the plan. As the prisoners on the *Mary* exceeded the prize crew in numbers, the Americans no longer felt safe with the Englishmen aboard, so the prisoners, officers and men, were bundled

into the long boat and set adrift 100 leagues to the westward of Barbados. The boat was provided with mast, spars, sails, compass and provisions and the prisoners reached land in safety. In this encounter the *Pilgrim* had the advantage of the larger crew, though weight of metal and size of ship were against her. The English claimed that the crew of the *Pilgrim* were mostly Scotch and Irish, a statement exaggerated no doubt but with a considerable basis of truth, for the crews of American privateers from 1780 to the end of the war were largely recruited from English deserters and prisoners. The day before the battle the *Pilgrim* took a brig and two days after the ship *Lord Howe*.

On May 30, 1782, this advertisement appeared in a Boston paper: "A part of those fortunate and fast sailing ships, the *Pilgrim* and *Mohock* for sale. Inquire of the printer." It would be interesting to know whether any sale was made, as within three months one was wrecked and the other captured by an English vessel.¹ American papers of October 12, 1782, report that the privateer *Pilgrim*, Captain Robinson, was chased ashore on Cape Cod by the English frigate *Chatham*, "Men, guns and stores saved; but vessel in a dangerous position." On October 23rd, "At Distil House Wharf, Beverly, all the stores lately belonging to that well found ship, the *Pilgrim*, including ten pairs of nine-pound cannon, will be sold at auction." On December 4, 1783, Boston papers advertise: "Ship *Pilgrim*, from Beverly for Ireland, Capt. Hugh Hill. Apply for freight to A. & J. Cabot." It is probable that this was not the original *Pilgrim*, but whether she left her bones in the sand of Cape Cod or was saved for further service she had made a record for Revolutionary privateers and captured some fifty prizes.

IV

The year 1779 was a disastrous one for the merchants of Massachusetts. During that part of the year when privateering was naturally most lucrative their armed vessels were employed by the State in an expedition² which afforded neither honor nor profit, and

¹ The Boston Gazette of June 24, 1782, stated that the previous Monday, the prize brig *Neptune* had been taken by "the Privateer Ship *Pilgrim*, Capt. Robinson, of Beverly" (Publications of this Society, xvii. 365 note).

² The Penobscot expedition.

its disastrous conclusion left them with little heart for new ventures or means to make them had they wished to. The story of the *Black Prince* and the *Defence*, the only two vessels of the expedition in which Beverly capital was invested, was alluded to in the last section. But two other new commissions were issued to Beverly privateers during the whole year, and these for vessels of trifling force.

On September 1, 1779, on petition of John Dyson in behalf of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and others of Beverly, William Groves was commissioned commander of the sloop *Fish Hawk* of 50 tons carrying 8 guns and 50 men. The *Fish Hawk* made one cruize as a privateer and then under command of Samuel Foster, later of Israel Ober, both of Beverly, sailed as a letter of marque. In the list of officers and crew of the *Fish Hawk* who signed as from Beverly on June 6, 1780, the share of prize money each was entitled to receive was 5 shares for the commander, $2\frac{1}{2}$ shares for the 1st lieutenant, 1 share each to the mariners, and $\frac{1}{2}$ a share to the cabin boy.

How large a proportion of the prize money earned on the voyage of a letter of marque or cruize of a privateer went to each officer and mariner on the vessel, depended on what share went to the owners, and this was by no means uniform. The owners of the privateer *Revenge* took one-quarter of the prize money, the owners of the *Rambler* two-thirds, and there were cases where the division was two-fifths to the owners and three-fifths to the crew. There must, however, have been real equality of division and the apparent difference made up by other factors. The difference could only be adjusted by the payment of higher wages or giving a larger share of prize money to the men of the letter of marque. As a matter of fact, the share of prize money was usually less on a letter of marque than a privateer, and this must have been made up by high wages.¹

There is considerable doubt whether any wages were paid the crew of a privateer, and whether the cruize was not a coöperative one. At any rate, whatever the proportion taken by the owners the balance was divided, one share to each mariner; $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 shares to each petty officer, boatswain, gunner, carpenter, cooper; $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 shares to the commander and 2nd and 3rd lieutenant of a privateer or mates of a letter of marque, and the share paid the first mate

¹ Wages on vessels in 1779 are quoted at £ 15 to £ 20 per month for ordinary seamen. While not so stated, this probably means letter of marque vessels.

was usually one-half that paid the captain or commander, which might be 5 as in case of the *Fish Hawk* or 8 as in case of the *Resource*, or any number agreed on before sailing.

These shares were negotiable like certificates of stock and commanded a high or low price according to the reputation of the vessel, the skill of the captain, the season of the year, or the necessities of the seller. The spirit of gambling, always rife in times of war or inflated currency, made them an attractive speculation and they were divided like lottery tickets, as indeed they were, into halves, quarters and eighths and floated on the market. It was necessary for a married or improvident mariner, signing for a cruise on a privateer, to make some provision for his family or creditors, and as this could not be done on advance on his wages he was obliged to sell the whole or a part of his shares. The following is a type of a bill of sale very common in the war: "Beverly 1776, Hiram Brockhorn in consideration of 16 dollars paid in hand and a further consideration of 24 dollars at end of cruise of sloop *Revenge*, Captain Benj. Dean, sells John Waters one-half of his share of prize money and gives order on the Agent." Mr. Waters seems to have dealt quite extensively in this kind of speculation and sometimes paid as high as one hundred dollars for one-quarter of a share. The last cruise of the *Fish Hawk* was made as a privateer under Captain Foster and she was taken while following the Quebec fleet in the summer of 1781.

The only other privateer commissioned from Beverly in 1779 was the little schooner *Adventure* belonging to Larkin Thorndike and Sewell Tuck. She was 45 tons burden, armed with 6 carriage and 8 swivel guns, carried a crew of 35 men and was commanded by Robert Newman. A few months later William James of Beverly was commissioned commander, and she made some fairly successful cruises. While under command of Captain James, the *Adventure* is accused of having stolen from Mr. Trask of Cape Persue, Nova Scotia, 64 hogsheads of salt and a boat, and complaint to that effect was made to the Massachusetts Council. In his petition, Mr. Trask allows that the salt has been returned but wishes to recover the boat also.

The year 1780 opened under the most depressing conditions. "Our present state with respect to provision," writes Washington,

January 8th, "is the most distressing of any we have experienced since the beginning of the war. For a fortnight past the troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing for want. They have been alternately without bread or meat the whole time, and frequently destitute of both." The inhabitants of the seaport towns of Massachusetts were not so badly off as Washington's starving troops, but from the early months of 1779 until the coming of the French in 1780 the growing scarcity of food excited the liveliest apprehension. On February 29, 1779, George Williams writes to Colonel Pickering:

In this State on the sea coast the inhabitants will soon have nothing to eat. A biscuit is worth six shillings. No flour to be had. Many merchants have closed. One more such month will destroy all faith in our money. Rum 72 to 96 shillings a gallon. Ordinary broadcloth eleven pounds a yard. Tea 72 shillings a pound. Sugar 40 to 70 pounds a hundred weight. Silk stockings seven pounds. One pocket handkerchief 40 shillings. For a vomit or a purge, one pound. I remember the saying of your good father, "No faith in paper money."

Again on April 6, 1779, he writes: "We are in great distress for want of food. Flour 40 to 50 pounds a hundredweight and none to be had."

George Williams was something of a pessimist, and it is not probable that the people of the seacoast towns suffered so much from hunger as they were inconvenienced by loss of their usual food. Although merchantable cod were hard to obtain, the ocean at their feet still offered inexhaustible supplies of small fish; lobsters and clams could be had for the gathering, and few families were so poor as not to have their own kitchen garden. By 1780 the cost of fitting out a privateer was so great, the chance of getting a prize into port so small, that most merchants preferred to send out their vessels as letters of marque. The firm of J. & A. Cabot, however, made one more venture and fitted out a new privateer, the *Essex*. The *Essex* was a ship of 200 tons, carrying 20 six-pound guns and a crew of 140 men. On May 6, 1780, John Cathcart of Salem was commissioned commander. The *Essex* sent a number of prizes into Beverly, but was taken by the English frigate *Queen Charlotte* June 10, 1781. A letter written by an officer of the *Essex* gives an account of the

remarkable meeting on the high seas of several of Mr. Cabot's vessels and the loss of the *Essex*:

Sailed from Beverly May 22nd 1781. June 6th made out a sail, gave signal and the vessel came alongside. It was the *Pilgrim*, Captain Robinson, and he had taken five prizes from the Jamaica fleet. Capt. Robinson, being the senior, ordered our Captain to cruize with him on the Irish coast. Next day saw a sail and gave chase. Came up with her and it was the *Defence* of Beverly.¹ She kept company with us. Next day chased a brig which we found to be from Barbadoes for Cork, prize to the *Rambler* of Beverly. Next day a sail was discovered and the *Pilgrim* gave chase, we following, and the *Defence* following us. About nine A.M. saw another sail and gave chase and found her too heavy for us. Proved to be the *Queen Charlotte* of 32 guns, and we had to surrender. The *Pilgrim* came up with her chase and found her to be the *Rambler*.

All these vessels were at one time either owned or controlled by Mr. Cabot.

Another vessel in which Mr. Cabot was interested this year was the *Junius Brutus* of Salem. This was a ship of 200 tons, carrying 20 guns and 120 men. On May 23, 1780, on petition of Joshua Ward and Henry Rust, John Leach was commissioned commander. She was afterwards commanded by John Brooks and later by Nathaniel Brookhouse, both of Salem, and while under command of the former had a well contested engagement with the English ship *Experiment*, lasting three glasses. The *Experiment* mounted 18 long sixes and carried the then very valuable cargo of 1500 barrels of flour. The *Experiment* finally surrendered with a loss of two killed and two wounded. The *Junius Brutus* during her privateer life sent 890 tons of prizes into Salem and was captured in the autumn of 1782 and sent in to Newfoundland.

Another privateer said to have been owned in Beverly but whose commission does not appear in the State Archives, was the brig *Eagle* of unknown tonnage and armament. According to her return of officers and crew June 17, 1780, William Groves of Beverly was commander. The *Eagle* was taken by an English vessel July 21,

¹ The *Defence* was a vessel built by Mr. Cabot to take the place of the brigantine *Defence* lost in the Penobscot expedition.

1780. She is said to have been owned by James Lovett and Moses Brown of Beverly.

The brigantine *Active*, 150 tons, 12 guns and 60 men, Nathaniel Swasey commander, owned by Andrew Cabot and others of Beverly, a former letter of marque, sailed this year as a privateer. In 1781 she was commanded by Captain John Patten of Beverly and was captured by an English vessel and carried into Halifax.

The year 1781 opened under brighter auspices. The arrival of the French fleet and army and the influx of gold consequent, served to steady our currency and improve trade. Privateering, however, was becoming every day more hazardous. The English merchant vessels either sailed as heavily armed letters of marque or under convoy of ships of war. The English fleet controlled our coast and made the departure and entrance of our vessels this time of greatest danger. Only five privateers, other than those already mentioned, sailed from Beverly during the year 1781 — the *Scourge*, *Dolphin*, *Buccanier*, *Diana*, and *Mohawk*.

The *Scourge* was a fine new ship of 240 tons, carrying 20 guns and 117 men, owned by Brown and Thorndike of Beverly. On May 24, 1781, Timothy Parker of Norwich, Connecticut, was commissioned commander. She sailed on her first cruize from Portsmouth, where she was probably built, June 14, 1781, her signal being ensign at main top gallant masthead, pennant at mizzen head.¹ Most of her cruising was done in the West Indies and she sent several prizes into Martinique, and the brig *Neptune* and sloop *Crawford* into Beverly. The *Scourge* was taken by an English vessel April 22, 1782, and sent into Barbados.

The *Dolphin* was a little schooner of 40 tons, 6 guns and 35 men, owned by William Homans and others of Beverly and commanded by Joseph Knowlton.

The schooner *Diana*, commissioned August 20, 1781, was one of the lightest armed privateers that sailed from Beverly during the war. She carried 4 guns and 20 men, was commanded by Richard Lakeman of Ipswich and owned by Joseph Swasey of Salem and several Beverly merchants.

One of the largest, finest and most fortunate privateers sailing from Beverly during the war was J. & A. Cabot's ship *Buccanier* of

¹ Diary of Moses Brown.

350 tons, carrying 18 nine-pounders and a crew of 150 men. The *Buccanier* was a new and fast ship built especially for privateering, and on August 3, 1781, Hoystead Hacker of Providence, Rhode Island, once commander of the Continental sloop *Providence*, was commissioned commander. She made one cruize in the English Channel under Captain Hacker, was coppered at L'Orient and then returned to Beverly. On March 22, 1782, Jesse Fearson of Salem succeeded Captain Hacker, and the *Buccanier* returned to her old cruising ground where, in company with the *Cicero* and *Revolution*, she remained until the end of the war. The *Buccanier* sent many prizes into France and a few to the home ports, and arrived back in Beverly in the month of June, 1783.

November 8, 1781, on petition of William Leach, William Bartlett and others of Beverly, Elias Smith was commissioned commander of the ship *Mohawk*. This was a new vessel built especially for cruising and carried 20 six-pounders, and a crew of 130 men. On her first cruize she sent three prizes into Martinique and one, the ship *Daniel*, formerly the *Salem Packet*, into Beverly. John Carnes of Beverly succeeded Captain Smith September 6, 1782, and when fourteen days out was taken by the English ship *Enterprise* and sent into New York.

The year 1782, though offering bright prospects for American patriots, brought little comfort to the owners of American privateers. The surrender of Cornwallis meant ultimate triumph, but general bankruptcy seemed still more imminent. Privateering had turned out badly and many merchants had had the same experience as George Williams, who writes to Colonel Pickering: "I have lost two ships and a brig at St. Eustasia by that old Rodney and now I am reduced to a brig."¹ Beverly had fared better than some of the seaport towns, and in the month of October, 1781, had owned the following vessels, as given in the Nathan Dane Papers:

¹ The Island of St. Eustatius was the great neutral port of the West Indies. When taken by Lord Rodney it was crowded with French, English, and American vessels and the booty was immense. It was captured before the governor had received news of war between England and Holland and he made no resistance, though 600 American seamen, crews of privateers and letters of marque in port, offered their services in defence of the city.

Pilgrim	140 tons
Buccanier	180 tons
Mohawk	170 tons
Revolution	270 tons
Cicero	250 tons
Rambler	165 tons
Scourge.	120 tons
Swift	40 tons
Lyon	300 tons
Chance	85 tons
Two Friends	85 tons
Two sloops	30 tons
Hulks	620 tons
	<hr/> 2455 tons

The tonnage of the vessels in this list is much underestimated and was probably meant for the assessors.

It is probable that the *Revolution* was commissioned in 1781, but the first record of her commission in the State Archives is on March 6, 1782, when, on petition of John and Andrew Cabot, Stephen Webb was commissioned commander. The *Revolution* carried the heaviest armament of any privateer sailing from Beverly during the war. She was a ship of 330 tons armed with 20 nine-pound guns and carried a crew of 130 men. Immediately after his appointment Captain Webb sailed for France, had his vessel coppered at L'Orient and cruized in the English Channel until the close of the war. The *Revolution* sent many prizes into France and returned to Beverly after peace was declared. At a later period she was the cause of the severance of the friendly relations between the house of Cabot and the firm of Joseph Gardoqui & Sons of Bilbao, Spain. In 1785 some member of the firm of J. & A. Cabot writes to Joseph Gardoqui:

Our house have now lying at Boston a ship of the most exquisite workmanship, beautiful beyond description, substantial, strong and free from defects. She is about 400 tons and cost upwards of 6000 guineas. She was built in 1782, and is well calculated for a packet or the West India trade. We are anxious to sell the vessel or put her into some channel where she, with her cargo, might be commissioned to our friends in Europe.

After much correspondence Gardoqui bought half of the *Revolution* for 1100 guineas on the understanding that she should be loaded on their joint account and sent to Europe. The *Revolution*, however,

while fitted for a privateer, carried too little cargo to be profitable as a merchant vessel, and Garloqui & Sons insisted that they had been imposed upon and resented it.

The *Shaker* has the distinction of being the only galley sailing from Beverly during the war, and one of the very few owned in the State. Like the galleys of the Mediterranean, these vessels spread a large amount of canvas and only used their sweeps in a calm or when going to windward. The *Shaker* measured 50 tons, and carried 6 four-pounders and a crew of 40 men. May 8, 1782, on petition of J. & A. Cabot, Samuel Stacy of Newburyport was commissioned commander. The next year Brown and Thorndike owned the *Shaker* and James Lovett¹ of Beverly commanded her. The *Shaker* sent several prizes into Beverly and was sold at auction after the war.

During the war cases of the recapture of the prize vessel by her imprisoned crew were quite common, but for a captured crew to retake their own vessel and seize that of their captors is almost unique. Such, however, was the good fortune of the little brigantine *Hope*, owned and commanded by Herbert Woodberry of Beverly.² Although brigantine rigged, the *Hope* was only 60 tons burthen, carrying 6 guns and 35 men. September 25, 1782, while cruising on the coast of Newfoundland, the *Hope*, Captain Woodberry, was taken by the *Prince Edward*, a large Nova Scotia privateer, a prize crew put aboard the *Hope*, and Captain Woodberry and his crew confined on the *Prince Edward*. After the action the two vessels ran into a small harbor in Labrador, called Chateau, to refit, and while lying there Captain Woodberry and his men arranged a plan to rise on their captors, some sixty in number, and seize the vessel. All their plans were completed and the watchword "Liberty" given out, but the morning of the day chosen Captain Simmond of the *Prince Edward* decided to go on shore fishing and nothing would do but that Captain Woodberry must accompany him. After some excuses, afraid of exciting suspicion, Captain Woodberry consented and the two captains were rowed ashore. The plan still held, however, and during their absence the crew of the *Hope* suddenly rushed on the unsuspecting Englishmen, disarmed them, seized the *Prince Edward* and retook

¹ James Lovett (1749-1789), son of Benjamin and Eleonora (Cleaves) Lovett.

² Herbert Woodberry (1745-1809), son of Jacob and Abigail (Thorndike) Woodberry.

the *Hope*. When Captain Simmonds returned from his fishing trip he found himself on a hostile vessel and was obliged to surrender to his late prisoner. There were too many prisoners to risk taking them on the two vessels, so they were all set at liberty. The prize brig *Prince Edward* of 160 tons, armed with 16 four-pounders, and the little *Hope* reached Beverly in safety and the former was sold at auction. She proved to be the privateer *Wilkes*, late of Gloucester, which had been taken by the English and renamed *Prince Edward*.

That same summer the *Hope* was party to a less creditable action, the attack on the town of Lunenburg. There had been a number of cases where our privateers had plundered the defenceless people of Nova Scotia, but in almost every case brought to their attention the General Court had given redress.¹ The attack on Lunenburg occurred, however, at a time when public opinion was running high against the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, some of whom were claimed to have acted as spies while trading with Massachusetts. Lunenburg was a small town in Nova Scotia containing four or five hundred inhabitants, defended by two blockhouses garrisoned by a few regular troops. Five small privateers, the brigantine *Hope*, Captain Woodberry, the schooner *Dolphin*, Captain Knowlton, both of Beverly, the schooner *Scammell*, Captain Stoddard, the schooner *Hero*, Captain Babcock, and the *Swallow*, Captain Tibbets, joined forces and raided the town. Ninety-two men from the privateers, under Lieutenant Bateman, landed at four in the morning about three miles from the town and marched undiscovered until they came to the first blockhouse which was garrisoned by a few soldiers and armed with an 18 pound cannon. The Americans had brought no artillery with

¹ Complaints against John Leach, commander of the schooner *Dolphin*, that he took 30 pounds of rice and 45 quarts of brandy from some Nova Scotians. (Massachusetts Archives, ccxxvii. 210.) On January 20, 1780, the General Court passed this resolve:

"Whereas it appears to the court that several small privateers have committed many robberies above high water mark on the inhabitants of Nova Scotia. Therefore resolved that this court do highly disapprove the conduct of any persons belonging to and commissioned from the State in the business of privateering and also resolved that when any commission shall be given out in future to small armed vessels they give good and sufficient bonds for the purpose of preventing such evils again taking place."

It is perhaps not strange that ignorant men did not appreciate the difference between robberies above and below high water mark.

them, but they succeeded in setting the blockhouse on fire and the garrison surrendered. One blockhouse still remained, but by this time the *Hero* had run into the harbor and a few well directed shots from her 4-pound guns ended all resistance.¹ "The Americans now," says an English account of the affair, "fell to plundering with a pleasing and natural vivacity." The grocery stores were emptied of their contents and barrels of beef and pork, sugar and rum rolled down to the wharves. The shelves of the clothing stores were thoroughly rifled and when everything of value had been looted and the house of the commander burned, the town was ransomed for one thousand pounds. Goods to the amount of 8,000 pounds were brought away and libelled in the prize court at Boston. "On the side of the brave sons of liberty," says a Boston paper, "three men were wounded, on the side of the abettors of despotism and oppression, one man was killed." In retaliation for this attack the *Chatham* and two other English men of war were ordered to cruise on the bank and burn every American vessel taken, fishing vessels included, though these had previously been unmolested.

The last and also the smallest privateer commissioned from Beverly during the war was the schooner *Hopewell*, of 25 tons, carrying 10 swivels and 40 men. She was owned by William Homans of Beverly and commanded July 26, 1782, by Cornelius Dunham, later by Martin Brewster. On March 26, 1783, the official recall of privateers was made by the State of Massachusetts.

V

During the Revolutionary War commerce between the United States and neutral nations and their colonies, though carried on under great difficulties, by no means ceased. Practically there was a perpetual embargo on all vessels in American ports, except those engaged in fishing, but permission to sail with specified articles of export was usually granted in Massachusetts on petition to the Council. The exports from Massachusetts during the war were limited to lumber in its various forms, dry and pickled fish, and small amounts of New England rum. Provisions of all kinds were

¹ Schooner *Hero*, 26 tons, 9 guns (short guns) and 20 men. May 27, 1782, George W. Babcock, commander. This is the only case noted by me where short guns (carronades) were used on a privateer.

too much needed for home consumption to be used for export and even dried fish was often scarce. The Council therefore vacillated between the fear of high prices and destitution at home, and the necessity of allowing some articles of export in order to obtain supplies of another character. Under these conditions commerce was carried on by a system of frauds, to be explained later, which however was understood and winked at by the government.

Prior to the time when France became an ally of the United States numerous vessels laden with war materials and supplies reached this country from that nation, but this was political rather than mercantile trade, and was accomplished by means of fraudulent papers.¹ French vessels cleared for the West Indies, and when near the American coast ran into some convenient port and discharged cargo. Commerce by Massachusetts vessels was carried on in three ways: first, by unarmed merchant vessels, mostly coasting voyages; second, by the State in State vessels, or ships chartered for that purpose; third, by means of armed vessels provided with letters of marque. The first method was carried on by small sloops and schooners and included a curious trade with Nova Scotia. The second was not an economic success, but enabled the State to obtain articles of which it had great need. The third, that by letters of marque, did the bulk of the commerce.

Trade by unarmed vessels consisted of coasting voyages to South Carolina for rice, or Maryland for flour, and was, of course, carried on in American vessels. The trade with Nova Scotia, on the other hand, was carried on by small craft belonging to that province. The towns of Barrington and Yarmouth were largely settled by people from Essex and Barnstable counties, in Massachusetts, and their trade and interest were chiefly with the Bay State.² When war came they were shut off from trade with Halifax by the American privateers, and, neglected by the English, had no market for their

¹ "A number of Frenchmen at Nantes have united to build six brigantines carrying from ten to eighteen guns, three of which are ready for sailing, the best calculated vessels for the American purpose I ever saw. I am confident they will sail fast and they are as sharp as a wedge. They will clear for the French West Indies." (Auckland Manuscripts.)

² E. D. Poole's *Annals of Yarmouth and Barrington (Nova Scotia) in the Revolutionary War (1899)* contains a very interesting account of these Nova Scotians during the war.

fish and potatoes except New England. They made some attempts to be declared neutral, but these failed and they remained throughout the war ignored by the English and suspected by the Americans.

Out of these peculiar conditions arose a limited trade, illegitimate in its nature but winked at by the government of Massachusetts so long as it suited their purpose. This trade was carried on under two pretexts, the first, based on the fact that so many inhabitants of Yarmouth and Barrington came from Massachusetts and had relations in the States, and the second, on the relief and transportation of escaped and parolled prisoners. For example, May 14, 1777, Daniel Corning petitions the General Court that he may be permitted to remove his family from Yarmouth to Beverly, and also sell 200 quintals of fish which he had brought with him. This petition was accompanied by a letter from Josiah Batchelder, Jr., of Beverly, stating that Corning was a former resident of that town, who had emigrated to Nova Scotia before the war, and was a worthy person. Mr. Corning made a number of these voyages and as late as August 30, 1780, petitions for leave to sell 150 quintals of fish and carry back to Nova Scotia a certain amount of flour, rum and sugar. Incidentally, he states that he has not yet found time to transport his family. This petition is the type of many others, all based on the fiction that the petitioner wishes to remove his family from one country to another.

Another frequent visitor to Beverly was Thomas Flint of Yarmouth, who varies the formula somewhat. He writes the Council that he has arrived at Beverly in his schooner *Hannah*, bringing a number of escaped prisoners, ten hogsheads of salt and a quantity of dried fish, and asks permission to sell his cargo and invest the proceeds in supplies that he may be able to continue the good work and later bring his family to Beverly. The real object of these petitions, of course, was the trade and no removal of families took place, but Massachusetts merchants needed dried fish and salt and were glad to sell the sugar from their prizes and the fiery rum from their distilleries, and so the trade went on.

The State trade had one advantage, that against it no embargo held. If sulphur or saltpetre was needed for powder, blankets for the troops or rice and flour for rations, it had only to dispatch one of its own vessels and, barring the accidents of war and sea, the

material was secured. The voyage of the sloop *Republic*, one of the State vessels, is chronicled in the State Archives. The *Republic*, under charge of Allen Hallet, afterwards commander of the privateer *Franklin*, sailed from Boston for Port Royal in the autumn of 1777, with a cargo consisting of 35 hogsheads of fish, 25 tierces of salmon, ten barrels of pork, an unstated amount of pickled mackerel, 56,000 shingles and 500 hoops, all consigned to Allen Hallet for sale. The *Republic* reached Port Royal in safety although pursued by an English cruizer, and on November 25, 1777, Allen Hallet writes to the Naval Board: "The fish being old and not well packed turned out so bad that I had to make an allowance of four livres. The salmon was exceedingly good, but are extremely unsalable here. The mackerel were spoiled and I was glad to get them out of the ship. Many of the boards were thrown overboard when we were chased on the voyage. The ox bows and yokes are little used by the French. After ballasting the vessel with rum and molasses I have employed the rest of the money in coffee." The *Republic* reached Boston on her return voyage with a cargo consisting of 88 hogsheads and two tierces of molasses, 114 puncheons of rum, 38 barrels of coffee and three pieces of sheeting. This voyage shows quite clearly the lack of efficiency in public as compared with private ventures.

On March 22, 1778, George Williams writes to Colonel Pickering: "State expects a brig from France with clothing, another brig in about two weeks, also two large ships bringing salt and blankets. One brig gone to Bilbao for salt and cordage and a brig and a ship to Carolina and France." Besides the State vessels many ships were chartered or bought from private owners, one at least from Beverly. On February 21st Nathan Leach of Beverly sells his ship *Content*, Captain William Langdell, to Captain Williams for the State service, to be delivered at Falmouth, and on March 18th receives this acknowledgement: "Received of Capt. William Langdell the ship *Content* which I am to load with masts by order of the Board of War. Signed, Wm. Frost."

Sometimes when pressed for money the State entered into a limited partnership with rich merchants and divided the profits with them. February 25, 1779, the Board of War at Boston writes to Captain Batchelder at Beverly: "The Board being engaged to

import rice and flour for the use of the State, would request you to use your influence among the monied men in Beverly and secure any sum of money they can advance to assist the public." The letter then goes on to say that it will be necessary to find several sloops of 50 to 70 tons to go to Maryland for flour and to Carolina for rice, and the Board will allow one-half of the rice and one-third of the flour brought back in payment. Owners to pay insurance and all other charges.

Commerce, however, carried on by the State and unarmed vessels was inconsiderable, and it was by letter of marque vessels that most of the trading was done. A letter of marque had the advantage over the privateer in that she cleared for some port with a cargo on which, if safely delivered, there was a good profit, and she was also by her letters empowered to take any vessel of the enemy that came in her way. In the early days of the war most of the letter of marque vessels were lightly armed and manned, but after 1780 some heavily armed letter of marque vessels made the voyage an incident and cruising the real object.

The commercial as well as the privateering history of Beverly is closely connected with the house of Cabot. Prior to the outbreak of the War of the Revolution the firm of John & Andrew Cabot carried on a large trade with Bilbao, Spain, their correspondents, as already stated, being the firm of Gardoqui & Sons. From 1770 to 1775 they employed the sloops *Tryall* and *Sally*, the brigantine *Union* and the ship *Rambler*. The captains in their employ were George Cabot, Benjamin Lovett, Stephen Cleveland, Zachariah Burchmore, and Thomas Simmons. On April 20, 1776, George Cabot writes to Gardoqui & Sons: "The bearer of this, my brother, Mr. Francis Cabot, is upon a plan of spending some four months abroad, and is desirous of being aboard the *Rambler*, Capt. George Cabot, where he may have the pleasure of his brother's society. Please forward him letters of introduction and credit. I shall in a few days set out for Philadelphia where I have resided since these unhappy times commenced." For some reasons, probably of a business and political nature, John and George Cabot both sailed for Europe that same spring. September 7, 1776, the three Cabot brothers were at Bilbao, prepared to return home. It did not seem prudent to risk so many members of the firm in one vessel, so

George Cabot sailed for Newburyport on a vessel commanded by Captain St. Barbe, Francis on the privateer *Hawk*, Captain Lee, and John on his own ship the *Union*, Captain Burchmore. The Cabot boys all arrived safe and on March 27, 1777, Andrew Cabot writes the Council: "The *Hector* has recently arrived from Spain with a cargo of brandy. Your petitioners have furnished said vessel abroad with eight carriage guns and a due proportion of swivels and small arms. She carried these guns on her return trip and might have taken several prizes but for want of proper warrant. Your petitioners therefor request such warrant and a commission for Zachariah Burchmore."

The *Union*, now bearing the more warlike name of *Hector*, of 150 tons, 8 guns and 17 men, was the first letter of marque to sail from Beverly. She was owned by the Cabots and William Bartlett of Beverly.

Another vessel owned by the Cabots at this time was the ship *Rambler*. Although no record of her commission as a letter of marque appears in the State Archives until 1779, there is a petition signed by Andrew Cabot of Beverly and George Dodge of Salem, dated February 18, 1777, asking that the ship *Rambler* be permitted to sail in ballast for Carolina, there take on a cargo of rice and sail for some neutral port in Europe, giving bonds that she will bring back salt, woolens and naval stores and give the State the first chance to purchase. This petition was granted July 18, 1777, and on October 18th Andrew Cabot writes Gardoqui & Sons:

The *Rambler*, Capt. Simmons, which is owned by George Dodge and myself, and the ship *Sally*, Capt. Buffinton, in which I am also interested and Elias H. Derby's ship, *Three Friends*, are expected to arrive at Bilbao about the same time. The *Three Friends* carries 300 casks of rice for the *Rambler* and the *Rambler* 300 casks for the *Sally*. Capt. Simmons cargo is worth 16 to 18 thousand dollars, Buffinton's 13 thousand dollars. In the former I own one-third, in the latter three-sixteenths.

Insurance at this time was very high and some merchants preferred to spread their risks and insure themselves. At a later date Benjamin Lovett insured the *Rambler* for \$15,000 at the low rate of 35 per cent. It is probable that the ship *Rambler* here referred to was the same vessel afterwards commanded by Captain Lovett, but nothing more

is heard of her until September 16, 1779, when on petition of Andrew Cabot and others of Beverly, Benjamin Lovett was commissioned master of the ship *Rambler* of 200 tons, carrying 14 six-pound guns and 50 men.¹ From the date of her commission to the end of the war, Captain Lovett commanded the *Rambler*, and during that time she sailed between Beverly and Bilbao, Spain, with almost the regularity of a packet.

In 1781, the *Defence*, Captain John Edmonds, and the *Rambler*, Captain Lovett, sailed from Beverly for Bilbao. They reached that port, taking several prizes on the way, and after discharging cargo went on a cruise in company and among other prizes sent in to Bilbao two English privateers, the *Snapper*² and the *Snake*. About this time Andrew Cabot wrote Gardoqui that he wished him to pick out one or two suitable vessels among the prizes to be used as privateers. Had his letter reached Bilbao in time it is probable that one or both of these vessels would have sailed from Beverly as privateers, but as it was, Gardoqui wrote to Mr. Cabot: "We are exceedingly sorry that the kind order for the purchase of one or two armed vessels had not reached us sooner, as we then would have had the opportunity of appropriating for your use the *Snapper* and the *Snake*, which we imagine would have been the only ones which might have suited your purpose. At present there is only the *Mercury*, and Capt. Lovett does not seem to encourage our taking her on your account." In the same letter Gardoqui states that Captain Lovett talks of going on a cruise in the *Rambler* with Captain Robinson in the *Pilgrim*, and Captain Hill in the *Cicero*. It is probable that he did not carry out his intention, as the *Rambler* arrived at Beverly November 9, 1781. Besides the prizes sent into Bilbao by the *Rambler*, the prize brigantines *Mary* and *Charming Polly* were sent into the home port.

The *Rambler* sailed again from Beverly, March 6, 1782, and Andrew Cabot was evidently in doubt where to send her or what to do with her. In his letter of instruction for the voyage, dated February 12, 1782, Mr. Cabot directs Captain Lovett to proceed

¹ There was also a brig *Rambler* captured by the English frigate *Harriet Selvy* in 1779.

² The *Snapper*, Capt. Taylor, was a famous letter of marque from Liverpool, and had taken many American vessels.

first to the Havana and leaves his subsequent course to his own discretion. He can go to Cadiz or any European port but he is on no account to return to the United States for one year. If he thinks best he can sell the *Rambler* abroad for \$40,000 and invest the money at interest. When he returns home he is to head for Martha's Vineyard and wait there until he can get information of any English cruisers in the bay. Two-thirds of the prizes are to be the property of the *Rambler's* owners. The signal for the *Rambler* and her prizes is to be ensign and pennant at main top gallantmast head, ensign above pennant. What happened to the *Rambler* during the ensuing year does not appear, but on February 13, 1783, she was reported at Virginia with a cargo of sugar from Cuba, and on March 18, 1783, she was advertised to sail for Ireland, Hugh Hill, master. If the *Rambler* commissioned in 1779 was identical with the *Rambler* owned by the Cabots in 1775, then she has the distinction of being one of the very few vessels in active service during the whole war. But at any rate, the *Rambler*, next to the *Cicero*, was the most fortunate and successful of all the letter of marque vessels sailing from Beverly.

There were a number of small vessels owned in Beverly, not all letters of marque, whose names are only learned accidentally and which do not seem to have been included in the list in the Dane Papers. Such a vessel was the *Sally*,¹ a sloop of 48 tons, owned three-quarters by Andrew Cabot and one-quarter by Thomas Bridges. The *Sally* ran regular trips between Beverly and Boston during all the war. From 1779 to 1784 she was commanded by Captain Arnold Martin, a native of Marblehead, and his wages for the five years amounted to £602.

Another vessel sailing from Beverly, of which there is no record in the State Archives, was the schooner *Friendship*, owned by Ebenezer Ellingwood, grandson of Ralph Ellingwood, one of the original settlers of Beverly. The *Friendship* was commanded in 1774 by Eleazer Giles, Mr. Ellingwood's son-in-law, and there is in the Dane Papers the original insurance policy taken on the *Friendship* for a trip to the West Indies in 1774.

It should be said in explanation that considerable insurance was

¹ Mr. Cabot had at one time a ship, a schooner, and a sloop all named *Sally*.

done by private individuals, usually for small sum. Joseph Lee and Henry Thorndike of Beverly and many of the Salem merchants did a little of this business, which was no doubt profitable and certainly exciting. The policy ran as follows:

Know all men that Ebenezer Ellingwood of Beverly, Merchant, as well in his own Name and Names of all and every other person or persons, to whom the Town doth, may or Shall apportion a Part or in all, doth make, Assure and Causeth himself and them and any of them to be insured, lost or not lost, the sum of Two hundred pounds from Beverly to Any and All the ports in the West Indies, and from them to Beverly again, upon the Schooner *Friendship* and Cargo, Stoves, Boats and Appurtances, whereof is Master, Under God, Eleazer Giles. To continue and endure the Voyage Aforesaid and until Said Vessel shall be assured and Moored at Anchor 24 hours in safety in the harbor of Beverly. Insurance at the rate of eight pounds per cent.

SALEM, June 24, 1774.

N. B. It is agreed between the Insured and the Insurer that in case Said Vessel leaves the West Indies on or before Aug. 10 and arrives at Beverly safe then two of the Above 8 per cent is to be Returned. The 10 of Aug. being Inserted before Signing. 100 pounds. Benjamin Pickman for 100 pounds.

Nothing more is heard of the schooner *Friendship* until February 2, 1778, when the New York Gazette and Mercury reports: "Ship *Tom*, Capt. Lee, fell in with the schooner *Friendship*, Capt. Ellingwood, from Salem for Surinam, loaded with fish and lumber. Took her and sent her into Liverpool. The day after, the *Tom* took the privateer schooner *Warren* of Beverly." The ship *Tom* was a Liverpool letter of marque, carrying 22 six-pound guns, commanded by Captain John Lee, and four years later by a kind of retributive justice while on a voyage from St. Lucie, laden with sugar, the *Tom*, still under Captain Lee, was taken by the *Porus*, Captain John Carnes of Beverly. Ebenezer Ellingwood also owned in 1777 one-quarter of the sloop *Beverly*, the other three-quarters being owned by Eleazer Giles, John Hale, and Benjamin Waters.

The only other letter of marque sailing from Beverly in 1777 was the brigantine *Starks*, owned by John and Andrew Cabot. She was a vessel of 120 tons carrying 8 four-pound guns and a crew of 20

men. On December 8, 1777, Richard Quatermass was commissioned captain, who was succeeded on October 16, 1779, by Ezra Ober.

It was during this year, 1777, that the women of Beverly made their famous raid on the storehouses of the Beverly merchants and compelled them, for the time at least, to sell at the prices fixed by the State. The rise of prices which began in 1776 was due not only to depreciation of the currency but also to actual scarcity. There was plenty of rice in Carolina and flour in Maryland, but its distribution was a matter of difficulty. Codfishing, the staple industry of Massachusetts, was confined to the seacoast, or if carried on at the banks was attended with great danger of capture. Coffee, sugar, cocoa and molasses could only be obtained by hazardous voyages to the West Indies or by capture of the enemy's vessels. Under these conditions prices were naturally high and ever rising. January 25, 1777, in accordance with previous conferences and agreements with other New England States, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an act to prevent monopoly and oppression.¹ Farm labor was not to exceed 30 shillings per week in summer; wheat 7 shillings 6 pence a bushel; flour four and a half pence a pound; salt pork in proportion to the amount of salt used in curing; salt 10 shillings, or if made in the State 12 shillings.² West India rum, 6 shillings 8 pence a gallon; New England rum 3 shillings 10 pence a gallon; sugar 3 pounds a hundred weight; butter 2 pence a pound; milk 2½ pence a quart; potatoes 1 shilling 4 pence a bushel. Beverly at this time rivalled Salem in the number of its stores and quality of goods displayed, and it was to Beverly that George Williams came September 23, 1777, to purchase shoes, blankets, stockings and yarn for the State, but would not buy on account of high prices. "Went to Beverly again Nov. 3rd," he writes, "and found shoes 24 shillings a pair, blankets 9 pounds and stockings 20 shillings, would not buy." The women of Beverly, however, were not like George Williams content with the refusal to buy but determined to make the merchants of Beverly sell at the fixed prices and, "One cold November morning," says Mr. Stone, "a company of about sixty . . . marched

¹ Cf. Publications of this Society, x. 116-134, xx. 163-190.

² The first salt works were established at Dennis, Cape Cod, in 1776. Afterwards several towns went into the business, Gloucester having three. Cf. 1 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xv. 224.

in regular order down Main and Bartlett streets to the wharves, attended by two ox-carts."¹ With the assistance of some men who followed the procession, the doors of one of the sugar-houses were forced and two hogsheads of sugar rolled out and placed in the cart. At this juncture the Beverly merchants effected a compromise by which a certain amount of sugar should be sold at the fixed price and the incident was closed.

VI

The number of letter of marque vessels sailing from Beverly in 1778 was small, though doubtless there were more than are recorded in the State Archives. The first vessel commissioned was the brigantine *Saratoga*, of 120 tons, 8 guns and 30 men, owned by Andrew Cabot, Joseph Lee and others of Beverly. Her first captain was John Tittle² of Beverly, best known for his successful defence against great odds while in command of a Marblehead vessel. In 1782 the ship *Cato*, Captain John Tittle, of 14 guns and 57 men, sailed as a letter of marque from Marblehead for Virginia. On the voyage she was attacked by three privateers, the *Fair American*, *Digby*, and *Prince Edward*, mounting 16, 14 and 8 guns respectively. For two hours the *Cato* fought the three vessels, nearly treble her strength, sometimes at long gunshot, often yard arm to yard arm, while Captain Tittle, now heading a rush to repulse boarders, now threatening to run any man through who flinched from the guns, manœuvred his vessel so skilfully that when night came he eluded his antagonists and escaped in the darkness. "The brave officer who defended the *Cato*," says the Salem Gazette, "has the thanks of her owners and the applause of the public." The *Saratoga* was afterwards commanded by Stephen Webb, Eleazer Giles, and Andrew Thorndike. While under command of Captain Giles the *Saratoga* had an encounter with an English vessel during which the captain lost his leg, the amputation being done by the ship's surgeon, Dr. Elisha Whitney.³ On November 21, 1781 the brigantine *Saratoga* was reported condemned and sold at Beverly.

¹ E. M. Stone, History of Beverly (1843), p. 83.

² John Tittle (1735-1800).

³ Elisha Whitney was born at Watertown March 11, 1747; moved to Beverly in 1792; died February 22, 1807.

The first letter of marque commissioned from Beverly in 1779 was the brigantine *Union*, of 120 tons, 6 guns and 20 men. It is possible that this was the letter of marque *Hector* formerly the *Union*, under her old name. William Langdell was commissioned captain January 4, 1779. The petition of Moses Brown, January 23, 1779, reads:

To the Hon. the Council of the State Capital of Mass. Bay.

May it please Your Honors. Your petitioner with others has a letter of marque brigantine, called the *Union*, Capt. William Langdell, owned in Beverly, loaded with lumber and 34 hogshead of fish, chiefly scale fish and the remnant very small burnt cod, by no means fit for the consumption of this country as you will note by a certificate from the packers and vouched for by the Committee of Correspondence of Beverly. Your petitioner therefore prays that Your Honors will grant a permit to have the above mentioned brigantine and cargo cleared for some port in the Western Islands not at war with the United States. Petition granted.

Of the many captains who sailed for the firm of Andrew and John Cabot, Benjamin Lovett of Beverly stood first in length of service and continuity of employment. In 1779 he commanded the *Sebastian*, a name indicative of her ownership and was employed in the Spanish trade. In the autumn of the same year he took command of the *Rambler* and Benjamin Ellingwood, late captain of the schooner *Friendship*, just returned from an English prison, took his place. In 1780 Captain Ellingwood took command of the brigantine *Active*, and Ichabod Groves¹ of Beverly was commissioned master of the *Sebastian*. The *Sebastian* is reported in the papers as lost or taken in 1780. If so, Mr. Cabot must have bought or built another *Sebastian*, as in 1784 the *Sebastian*, Captain Cleveland, returned to Beverly from a voyage to St. Petersburg.

On petition of George Cabot, Joseph Lee and others, John Porter was commissioned master of the brigantine *Experiment*, of 130 tons, 6 guns and 25 men, March 30, 1779. The *Experiment* was bound to the West Indies with a cargo of fish, and Ebenezer Ellingwood and Benjamin Waters make the following arrangement to spread their risks:

¹ Ichabod Groves, born in 1744, was a son of John and Catherine (Leach) Groves.

This indenture witnesses that the Undersigned have exchanged each a quarter of a share of such prizes and effects as shall be taken by certain privateers and private vessels making their present voyages. Viz, the said brigantine *Experiment*, John Porter, Commander, for a quarter of such vessels as shall be taken by the ship *Rambler*, Benj. Lovett, Master, and that he covenants with the said Ebenezer Ellingwood to make all further assurance for such exchange, and the said Ebenezer covenants to do agreeably thereto.

Witness our hand and seals this 10th day of Oct. 1779.

EBENEZER ELLINGWOOD

BENJ. WATERS.

The brigantine *Fortune*, owned by Miles Greenwood of Salem and John Dyson of Beverly, sailed alternately as a letter of marque and privateer, and in both characters she was a fortunate vessel. On her first voyage she was commanded by Francis Bowman of Salem, later by Jesse Fearson of Salem and Benjamin Ives of Beverly. On November 7, 1781, Richard Ober of Beverly was commissioned commander. On the voyage under Captain Ober the *Fortune*, a 100 ton vessel, armed with 7 guns, carried a crew of only 15 men. This seems a very small number, but there was at this time a strong feeling that men shipped on private armed vessels to avoid serving in the Continental army and that letter of marque vessels should restrict themselves to commerce. So strong was the feeling that the attention of the General Court was called to it and a committee appointed which reported as follows:

The Committee of both Houses to whom was referred the Information of the Committee of Correspondence of the town of Salem, that numbers of persons in the County of Essex are fitting out vessels under Pretence of their going on Merchant voyages but really with Intent to make captures on the High Sea, for which purpose they are manning vessels with Many More Men than are necessary to navigate the Same, if bound on a merchant Voyage, by which the good design of the Legislature in laying the present Embargo is subverted.

The committee then went on to report a resolve which allowed crews to letter of marque vessels only in proportion to the tonnage of the vessel, eight men for every 100 tons, including master and mate, and the same proportion for larger vessels. Of course this was out of reason, for why arm a vessel if she could not carry men

enough to man the guns? At a later period the distinction between privateer and letter of marque became one of name merely.

In the summer of 1779, there was a brigantine, of unknown tonnage and armament lying in Beverly harbor, commanded by a well known Beverly captain, Joshua Ellingwood. She was loaded with the usual cargo of fish and lumber and had been held up by the embargo on account of the Penobscot expedition as well as the standing one on provisions. Mark Lafitte of Salem, owner of the cargo, petitioned the Council that the *Mars* be allowed to sail and to the petition was appended this certificate:

BEVERLY, Aug. 9, 1779.

We certify to whom it may concern that the brigantine, *Mars*, Commanded by Capt. Joshua Ellingwood, now Lying in the Harbor of Beverly, is loaded with Alewives, Menhaden, and lumber and that there is no Cod or other dried fish aboard said brigantine, nor other provision more than is necessary for her voyage.

JOSIAH BATCHELDER, Jr.

NATHAN LEACH.

This certificate illustrates a branch of trade that went on all through the war. There was a perpetual embargo on provisions, especially dried cod. But cod was the one export from Massachusetts which always commanded a ready sale. Consequently vessels loaded with dried cod, pickled mackerel, herring and menhaden, and then obtained certificates from the packers, selectmen of the town or committee of correspondence, that there was no cod in the cargo or that the cod were burnt or otherwise unfit for food. It was a fraud, understood by both parties, and to such an extent was it carried on that at one meeting of the Council four petitions from the merchants of the town of Newburyport to export spoiled cod were favorably acted on.

The other letter of marque vessels sailing from Beverly in 1779 were the sloop *Driver*, the snow *Cato* and the schooner *Hawk*, all vessels of which little is known. The *Driver* was commanded by Daniel Adams, later by Robert Haskell, the *Cato* by Eleazer Giles, and the *Hawk* by William Holland.

On October 6, 1779, occurred the adjourned meeting of the Concord Convention, held to take into consideration the prices of merchandize and country produce and make such regulations and restrictions as

the public good might require. There were present from Beverly George Cabot, William Bartlett, Joseph Wood, and Moses Brown. The Convention resolved:

That after the 13th day of October the following articles of merchandise and country produce shall not be sold at a higher price than is hereto fixed to the same.

	Prices on the sea coast	
Indian corn	two pounds, four shillings	per bushel
Wheat	nine pounds	" "
Wheat flour	thirty pounds	" 100 weight
Beef	five shillings	" pound
Geese, fowls	six	" "
Salt pork	sixty pounds	" barrel
New milk	two shillings	" quart
Salt	nine pounds	" bushel
Mackerel	thirty pounds	" barrel
Herring	twenty five pounds	" "

Then followed a long list of articles of less importance to which a maximum was fixed and the Convention further resolved:

Whereas the goods and wares imported from Europe are so various in their kinds as to render it quite impracticable to affix the price by retail, therefor, the average price by retail of all kinds of European wares shall not exceed forty times what they were in 1773. Any person who shall directly or indirectly recall or evade this resolve shall be held an enemy to his country and treated as such, and his name shall be published in one or more of the public newspapers printed in this State. That the buying and selling of gold or requiring it for goods furnished has been one great cause of our present evils.

The Convention also advised each town to appoint a special committee "To carry these resolutions into effect and denounce all those who refuse to sell at the prices fixed and should any do so the Committee are authorized to seize such person's goods, sell them and return to the owner the fixed price." It is hardly to be supposed that such men as represented Beverly in the Convention really believed that any such plan was practicable; they probably agreed with George Williams that the rise in prices was due to the "Dam paper money," but public opinion on the subject was high and something had to be done to satisfy the people. The Resolutions

of the Convention had no legal force and efforts to enforce them were soon abandoned.

The first letter of marque commissioned in 1780 was Andrew Cabot's new brigantine the *Defence*, named after his vessel lost in the Penobscot expedition. She measured 150 tons and carried 16 four-pound guns and a crew of 50 men. March 22, 1780, John Edmonds of Beverly was commissioned captain. Like the *Rambler*, Andrew Cabot employed her in the Spanish trade. She sent a number of prizes into Spain and Beverly, but October 2, 1781, on a voyage from Bilbao for Beverly, she was captured in Boston bay by the English ship *Chatham*.

In the Massachusetts Archives is a list of the officers and crew of the brigantine *Active* on her voyage for Gottenburg. Mr. Cabot, her owner, had for some time looked forward to the Baltic trade which he afterwards engaged in and it would be interesting to know what success the vessel had, for no particulars of the voyage seem to have been preserved. If she reached Gottenburg she was one of the first American vessels to carry our flag into the Baltic.¹ The *Active* afterwards sailed as a privateer, at first under Captain Swasey, later under Captain Patten and while under the latter was taken by an English vessel and carried into Newfoundland.

The ship *Resource* of 175 tons, 16 guns and 30 men, was owned by Thomas Woodberry, Ebenezer Parsons, and Brown & Thorndike. Her first captain, Israel Thorndike, was commissioned June 12, 1780. Captain Thorndike made one voyage in the *Resource* and then turned her over to his mate, Richard Ober.² Captain Ober sailed for the West Indies and on the voyage was taken by an English sloop of war and carried into Jamaica.

The brigantine *Fanny*, owned by Livermore Whittredge, William Bartlett and others of Beverly, was probably the last vessel sailing from Beverly during the war which carried a distinctively Beverly crew. The *Fanny*, on a voyage from Beverly for Hispaniola with a cargo of fish, was taken May 28, 1781, by the English brig *Providence* and carried into New York.

There is in the Nathan Dane Papers a rough draught of a protest

¹ See p. 423 note 1, below.

² Richard Ober (1745-1821), son of Richard and Lydia (Chapman) Ober.

against the taxes assessed on the town of Beverly for the year 1780. The paper recites:

Before the war the trade of Beverly was $\frac{3}{5}$ as large as 1780. Before the war there were owned in Beverly 35 schooners and other vessels employed in fishing, manned by 300 men whose earnings were spent in town and carried considerable part of our taxes. In 1780 it paid only $\frac{1}{4}$ part of our taxes. Citizens of Beverly had taken away from the town money by purchasing estates about Boston. Shipping amounts to 2844 tons manned $\frac{7}{10}$ by men from other towns. In 1772 Beverly had 550 polls, in 1780 only 479. There are 190 widows in town, of whom 142 pay no taxes.

Beverly, like the other seaport towns, had been drained of her young men, some by death, more by the prison ships of New York and the jails of Halifax and England. Salem was no better off. September 30, 1780, the ship *Viper* sailed from Salem with a crew consisting of two merchants, 4 ship wrights, 1 joiner, 1 farmer, 1 cooper and 18 foreigners. The crew numbered 36, so that only 9 were mariners and half were foreigners. The ship *D'Estaing* of 150 tons, 10 guns and 25 men, owned by John Dyson and others of Beverly, commanded by Elias Smith,¹ sailed a little later with a crew made up of foreigners.

The brigantine *Freedom* of 90 tons, 7 guns and 15 men, commanded by Benjamin Ober² of Beverly, had a crew drawn from Beverly, Georgetown and Eastham with a sprinkling of foreigners.

The last letter of marque commissioned from Beverly in 1780 was the snow *Diana*, of 140 tons, 8 guns and 25 men. She was owned by Larkin Thorndike and others of Beverly, and September 19, 1780, William Herrick of Beverly was commissioned master. In the early part of the year the privateer *Pilgrim* had sent into Beverly the prize snow *Diana*, said to have been used as a gentleman's yacht and very fast, and it is probable that she was bought and fitted out as a letter of marque. Captain Herrick was killed in action off Bermuda in 1780, and the *Diana* was taken by an English vessel in 1781.

The first letter of marque commissioned in 1781 was the brigantine *Swift* of 100 tons, 8 guns and 20 men, owned by William

¹ Elias Smith (1744-1817).

² Benjamin Ober (1751-1780) died abroad.

Homans and others of Beverly. January 3, 1781, Asa Woodberry¹ was commissioned master. On June 5, 1781, John Tittle of Beverly was commissioned commander and she sailed as a privateer. On October 20th of the same year Captain Tittle was succeeded by Israel Johnson, and while under his command the *Swift* was captured by the English.

The year 1780 had been a hard one for the merchants of New England, privateering had been unprofitable, food and fuel scarce, and the cost of fitting out vessels almost prohibitive. Few men had the courage or means to risk new ventures in 1781, but the house of Cabot was an exception and they began the year by commissioning two new vessels on the same day, the *Commerce* and the *Cicero*. The story of the *Commerce* was a short one, for she proved as unfortunate as the *Cicero* was fortunate. She was a ship of 200 tons, carrying 6 nine- and 8 four-pound guns, and a crew of 50 men. On January 16, 1781, Stephen Webb of Beverly was commissioned master and on her first voyage, a few days out, she was taken by an English cruiser.

The *Cicero* was a new ship of 200 tons, armed with 10 nine- and 6 four-pound guns and carried a crew of 100 men. Her heavy armament, large crew and the captain chosen to command her, Hugh Hill, showed that despite her letter of marque commission, she was really a disguised privateer. She was commissioned January 16, 1781, and her first voyage was to the West Indies, where she took on a cargo of sugar and cocoa, and sailed for Cadiz, arriving there April 17, 1781. On the voyage she took several prizes and while waiting for her return cargo went on a cruise and was again very successful. One of her prizes, taken June 23rd, was the ship *Mercury*, Captain Dillon, of 16 guns, running as a packet to Cadiz. The *Mercury*, besides a valuable cargo including £15,000 in gold, carried a considerable passenger list, and on their arrival at Cadiz the passengers published a letter speaking in the highest terms of Captain Hill and the treatment they received on board the *Cicero*.

This cruise of the *Cicero* is referred to in John Trumbull's account of his travels in Europe. Mr. Trumbull embarked from Amsterdam for America in the U. S. frigate *Carolina*, Commodore Gillon, and soon after sailing they ran into a violent gale. "Happily for us,"

¹ Asa Woodberry (1749-1830), son of Thomas and Lucy (Herrick) Woodberry.

writes Mr. Trumbull, "Commodore Barney was among us, (he had just escaped from Mill prison in England,)" and he practically took command of the ship.¹ After the gale was over the vessel was found to be short of provisions and headed for Corunna. Here they found the *Cicero* of 20 guns belonging to Mr. Cabot. As the *Cicero* was about to sail for Bilbao several of the passengers on the *Carolina* obtained permission from Captain Hill to make the voyage with him and transferred their luggage to the *Cicero*. Besides John Trumbull, son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, Captain Hill's passengers included Charles Adams, son of John Adams of Massachusetts, Major Johnson, and the celebrated Joshua Barney. The last had been taken from a prison ship in New York harbor and carried with 78 other American officers to England and there confined in Mill Prison. He had escaped from Mill Prison and made his way to Amsterdam, where he took passage on the *Carolina* for America.

On the voyage to Bilbao the *Cicero*, accompanied by the prize *Mercury*, had an unfortunate encounter with a Spanish vessel which she mistook for English in the darkness, and soon after her arrival at Bilbao she was libelled by the owners of the Spanish ship and deprived of rudder and sails. Damages were placed at \$7000 and it was only after Gardoqui & Sons, Mr. Cabot's agents, had given bonds to that amount that the *Cicero* was allowed to sail. Captain Hill and his passengers left Bilbao December 10, 1781, and after an uneventful passage of six weeks sighted the Blue Hills of Milton. That night, writes Trumbull, "we found we were close upon the rocks of Cape Ann," and the next morning "we were safe in the port of Beverly, where we found eleven other ships, all larger and finer vessels than the *Cicero* — all belonging to the same owners, the brothers Cabot — laid up for the winter. Yet such are the vicissitudes of war and the elements, that before the close of the year they were all lost by capture or wreck, and the house of Cabot had not a single ship afloat upon the ocean."² This statement of Mr. Trumbull demands considerable credulity, for it is extremely doubtful whether eleven vessels larger than the *Cicero* entered Beverly harbor during the war, and while Mr. Cabot in common

¹ Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters (1841), p. 82.

² Id. p. 87.

with all owners of armed vessels suffered severe losses in 1782, yet the *Cicero*, *Revolution*, and *Buccanier* were all profitably cruising at the end of the year. Mr. Cabot is said to have offered Joshua Barney the command of one of his privateers but he declined.

About this time the hitherto friendly relations between the house of Gardoqui and the house of Cabot became strained, "We have never had to do with ^{so} such a set of unruly officers as Capt. Hill has aboard," writes Joseph Gardoqui November 29, 1781, "all our reasoning has no effect, they insist on having all their prize money or Leave the Ship." February 3, 1782, Andrew Cabot writes to Gardoqui & Sons that he has reason to be dissatisfied with them and shall send the *Cicero* and *Rambler* to Cadiz and his other privateers to France. The quarrel must have been made up, however, as on September 28, 1782, Gardoqui writes Andrew Cabot: "Give us leave to congratulate you most affectionately on the safe arrival of your ships *Cicero*, *Buccanier* and *Revolution* at L'Orient. News communicated by Capt. Hill, forwarding us at the same time two bills on Paris for 30,000 and 6,720 livres, endorsed by Capt. Zachariah Gage on account of a vessel he sold at Cape François." The vessel sold was the brig *Chance* and nothing seems to be known about the voyage.

To Agent or Agents. For value received please to pay to Mrs. Esther Langdell the amount of one quarter part of a Single share of all the Prize Money or Goods that my Son, Andrew Gage may be entitled to for Services Against the Enemies of the United States of America on board the Armed ship *Sisaroe*, Capt. Hugh Hill, Commander.

N.B. by said cruise is Meant from the time Said Ship Sailed from the port of Beverly until Said Ship returned.

her
ELIZABETH * GAGE
mark.

Witnesses,
John Harris
Samuel Bowden

This order on the agent of the *Cicero* is a sequel to a sad story indicated in several places in the State Archives. In 1775 Andrew Gage, husband of the writer of the order, was taken prisoner on a Beverly vessel and up to June 22, 1778, was either doing compulsory

service on some British armed vessel or was confined in an English prison. On the date mentioned Mrs. Gage petitioned the Council for permission to sell a piece of land belonging to her husband in order to obtain means to live. When, if ever, Andrew Gage returned to his family we find no record. The Andrew Gage mentioned in the order was her son.

The *Cicero* returned to France and then cruized in the English Channel until the end of the war, arriving back at Beverly May 22, 1783, under Captain Ezra Ober,¹ Captain Hill having stopped in London.

The first letter of marque sailing from Beverly in 1782 was the ship *Spanish Packet* of 200 tons, 10 guns and 20 men. She was owned by James Jeffrey, Francis Cabot and others, and commanded by Thomas Dalling. Very little is known of her.

The ship *Lyon* was the largest letter of marque vessel sailing from Beverly during the war. She was a former English ship, the *George*, prize to the *Ranger*, bought by Mr. Cabot and built over for a mast ship. In 1781 Andrew Cabot wrote to Gardoqui & Sons at Bilbao and Butler & Mathews at Cadiz asking the price at which masts and spars could be sold in Spain and the chance of a market. April 30, 1781, Butler & Mathews advise him that there has been no cargo of masts brought to Spain since the war. A mast 85 feet long and 30 inches in diameter is worth 650 Mexican dollars, while oak brings half a Mexican dollar per cubic foot. It is evident from these letters that Mr. Cabot had for some time had in mind shipping a cargo of masts and spars to Spain, and on March 6, 1782, William Tuck² of Beverly was commissioned master of the ship *Lyon* of 400 tons, 26 guns and 80 men. The *Lyon* with her cargo of masts sailed from Beverly May 6, 1782, and was captured the same day by the *Blonde* frigate and her crew transferred to that vessel. The *Blonde* was on her way to Halifax and May 10th was wrecked on Seal Island. Captain Tuck and his men for services rendered on that occasion were set free and Captain Thornbrough of the *Blonde* on his arrival at Halifax published this card in Nova Scotia Gazette:

My warmest thanks are due to Capt. Tuck of the *Blonde* prize, *Lyon*, letter of marque from Beverly, and to all her officers and crew for their

¹ Ezra Ober (1747-1794), son of Richard and Lydia (Chapman) Ober.

² William Tuck (1740-1784), son of William and Eliza (Sewall) Tuck.

generous and indefatigable endeavors to keep the ship from sinking. Night and day at the pumps until we got all but one man out of her.

EDWARD THORNBROUGH,

Commander of his Majesty's late ship *Blonde*.

The capture of the *Lyon* by the *Blonde* and the subsequent wreck of the latter had a possible indirect effect on a naval action which occurred shortly after between the privateer *Jack*, Captain Ropes, and the English brig *Observer*, Lieutenant Crymes. In 1781, M. de Barras, the French Admiral, detached two frigates, the *Astrée*, commanded by M. de la Pérouse, and the *Hermione*, commanded by M. le Comte de la Touche, to cruize along the coast of America from New York to Halifax. On July 21st, writes Captain Pérouse to his Admiral:

We saw a fleet 5 leagues to windward. I made signal to *Hermione* to chase and crowded sail. It was seven o'clock before the first gun was fired. I ordered M. de la Touche to follow at half musket shot distance and we advanced along the line of the enemy to leeward in order to cut them off. As we advanced the small squadron of the enemy fell into disorder. The *Vulture* crowded sail to get off, after a combat of ten minutes. Soon after the *Jack* struck her colors. At 8:15 the *Charlestown* having lost her main top mast followed the example of the *Jack*. The other vessels very roughly handled followed her example. The night came on and had every appearance of being very dark. I set my boat aboard the *Jack* and hailed Capt. de Touche to keep the *Charlestown* in sight.

Captain Pérouse then goes on to state that the *Charlestown* escaped in the darkness and the other English vessels were too near shore to be secured.

The English account of the engagement is somewhat different. When sighted by the two French frigates, Captain Henry F. Evans, in command of a small squadron consisting of the *Charlestown*, *Vulture*, *Allegiance*, *Vernon*, *Jack*, and *Thompson*, was convoying a fleet of transports to Great Britain. Although his heaviest armed vessel, the *Charlestown*, mounted only 28 guns, in order to protect his convoy he drew up in line of battle and awaited the attack of the two heavy French frigates. The battle that ensued was soon ended by the darkness and the French vessels were glad to retire,

their only prize being the *Jack*. Which account is correct is of no importance, as both agree that the *Jack* surrendered.

Captain Pérouse returned to Boston with his prize and August 9, 1781, the following advertisement appeared in a Boston paper:

Will be sold by public vendue at the American Coffee House, the 17th of August the fast sailing ship *Jack* built on the new construction plan, mounting 16 six- and nine-pounders. Everything ready for an immediate cruise. She was captured by H. M. C. M. ships *Astrea* and *Hermione* after being four or five days out and will be sold as she arrived from sea.

In the same paper is an item stating that the *Jack* was formerly owned in Salem and was captured almost a year before while cruising with the *Charlestown*, formerly the *Boston*, frigate. Another paper, the Boston Gazette of August 6, 1781, calls the *Astrée's* prize, the *Saucy Jack*, formerly owned in Salem. Whether the prize *Jack*, was the late Salem privateer *Jack* of 130 tons, 14 guns and 75 men, commanded by Captain Nathan Brown, on petition of Jonathan Norris, or whether she was some other Salem privateer called the *Saucy Jack*, she was bought by Salem merchants at the auction and once more commissioned as the privateer *Jack*, Captain David Ropes. The *Jack* was commissioned September 6, 1781, and in the month of May of the following year was cruising near Halifax.

The ship *Blonde*, as has been stated, was wrecked on Seal Island, but Captain Thornbrough and his men, as well as Captain Tuck and his crew, escaped to the shore. The *Blonde* was wrecked May 10, 1782, and on May 12th Captain Daniel Adams of Beverly, while cruising off Cape Sable in the privateer *Lively*, discovered the party on the Island. Captain Adams immediately sent a boat ashore to see what was required and followed it with this note: "It being ever my disposition to relieve the distressed more particularly those in your situation, I have sent my boat to your assistance and at the same time place my vessel at your service to carry you to the mainland, where you may provide yourself with a vessel to take your ship's company off the Island. Should be glad if you would come aboard and see me." The next day the *Scammell*, Captain Stoddard, joined the *Lively* and the two American captains made an arrangement with Thornbrough by which all those wrecked on the Island

should be transported to Yarmouth, Cape Pursue, on the *Scammell* and the *Lively*, that Captain Tuck and his men should be free to go to Beverly and Captain Thornbrough and his crew to Halifax, and that each party should supply the other with a safe conduct against cruizers and privateers of their own nation. On his arrival at Yarmouth Captain Thornbrough hired a shallop and sailed for Halifax. News of his disaster had already reached that city and Lieutenant Crymes, Commander of the brig *Observer*, formerly the American privateer *Amsterdam*, Captain James Magee, now in the royal navy, was ordered to cruize towards Cape Sable, and if possible pick up Captain Thornbrough and his men. This the *Observer* did on the 28th of May and while returning to Halifax was sighted by the privateer *Jack*.

It was six o'clock in the afternoon when the *Jack* sighted the *Observer* standing into the land and by nine o'clock the two vessels were along side. Under ordinary conditions the two vessels were very closely matched, the *Observer* carrying 16 six-pound guns and a crew of 73 men and the *Jack* 6 nine- and 9 six-pound guns and a crew of 63 men. The quality of the two crews, however, was very different. The *Jack*, like all our privateers in 1782, was largely manned by foreigners, men apt to be insubordinate and without the spur of patriotism, while the *Observer* had a crew trained in gunnery and schooled in the rigid discipline of a man of war. The original 60 men, which constituted the crew of the *Observer* when she left Halifax, had just been reinforced by a portion of the crew of the *Blonde*, and the sight of Captain Thornbrough, stripped to his shirt, serving as a volunteer at one of the guns added to their enthusiasm. At the first broadside Captain Ropes fell, mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Grey, who assumed command, was slightly wounded in the hand and head.

A close and severe action ensued and for two hours the *Jack* and *Observer* exchanged broadsides and plied each other with musketry until Lieutenant Grey, having lost heavily in killed and wounded and seeing his men flinch from the guns, attempted to make sail on the *Jack* and escape. "Our rigging was so destroyed," says Lieutenant Grey in his account of the action, "that not having command of our yards the *Jack* fell off with her larboard bow foul of the brig's starboard quarter. We were engaged thus a quarter of an hour in

which time I received a wound by a bayonet fixed in a musket, and which was hurled with such force as entering the fore part of my thigh and passing close to the bone entered the carriage of a bow gun and it was out of my power to remove it." The two vessels lay side by side for some fifteen minutes, so close that boarding pikes were freely used, and then the *Jack* getting free from her opponent once more tried to escape. After a short running fight, the *Observer* got along side and at half-past one in the morning the *Jack* surrendered.

The loss of the *Jack* in killed and wounded is reported by Lieutenant Crymes as 25 or nearly half the crew. Lieutenant Grey reports 7 killed and 12 wounded. Among the killed were two Beverly men, Nathaniel Trask and Thomas Davis. Captain Ropes died as the two vessels entered the harbor. The loss of the *Observer* by the English account was 3 killed and 5 wounded, by the American account 10 killed and many wounded.

The immediate cause of the loss of the *Jack* may be ascribed to the foreign element in the crew abandoning their guns and going below. "I had but ten men on deck and two of them wounded when I surrendered," writes Lieutenant Grey. The indirect cause was the reinforcement of the *Observer's* crew by Captain Thornbrough and his men, made possible by the unfortunate kindness and chivalry of the captains of the *Lively* and *Scammell*. July 18, 1782, Captain William Grey and five of the crew of the *Jack* arrived at Salem in a cartel, having been treated with great kindness while at Halifax. The *Jack* was tried and condemned in the prize court at Halifax and identified as the vessel taken the previous year by the *Astrée* and *Hermione*.¹ There is still a sequel to the story. A few months

¹ "Lucas Johnson, midshipman on board His Majesty's Ship *Charlestown*, being sworn declares that in the latter end of July last on their passages from Halifax to Spanish River in company with the *Allegiance*, *Vulture* and *Jack* and some transports under their convoy, being off of Spanish River, Seeing two French frigates, *L'Astrea* & *Hermionné* to Leward, Captain Evans . . . order'd the Deponent on board the *Jack* with orders to Capt. Tonge, . . . that the *Jack* was obliged to strike to the French frigates, and Deponent and the whole crew belonging to the *Jack*, were made prisoners and carried into Boston, that the *Jack* at that time carried ten nine pounders and four sixes, and was manned with sixty seven men, Richard Peter Tonge Commander, that the Deponent had seen the ship called the *Jack* (taken by Captain Crymes) . . . & knows her to be the same ship taken by *L'Astrea* & *Hermionné*" (Essex Institute Historical Collections, xlv. 182-183).

later, the *Lively*, Captain Adams, was taken by the English frigate *Pandora* and carried into New York. In recognition of his services to Captain Thornbrough, Captain Adams was treated with great kindness by Captain Ingalls of the *Pandora* and sent back to Boston.

The last letter of marque commissioned in 1782 was the ship *Fox* of 100 tons, 8 guns and 20 men, owned by Benjamin Lovett and commanded by Israel Johnson. July 14, 1780, a brigantine *Fox* of 8 guns and 15 men, owned by Benjamin Lovett and commanded by Israel Johnson, is also reported. Whether the brigantine was re-rigged as a ship or whether there were two vessels named *Fox* belonging to the same owner, it is hard to tell.

VII

The treatment of American prisoners by the English during the War of the Revolution has been stigmatized by most American historians as cruel and contrary to the law of nations, but a close examination of the facts shows that the treatment was cruel or lenient according to the personal character of those in charge of the prisons and the peculiar conditions of the prisons themselves. The first disposition of the English was to treat the Americans as rebels and regard prisoners as subject to all the penalties of treason, but the magnitude of the revolt and still more the possession by the Americans of many English prisoners materially changed their views. After the retreat from Concord General Gage consented to an exchange of prisoners and General Carleton generously parolled those taken in the Quebec campaign. On August 13, 1775, General Gage, however, having heard from England on the subject, wrote to Washington refusing to allow to Americans the rights of prisoners of war. On December 18th Washington wrote to General Howe on the subject of exchange and treatment of American prisoners, particularly in regard to the case of Ethan Allen who had been sent in irons to England. The case was referred by General Howe to the home authorities and on February 1, 1776, Lord George Germaine wrote to Howe that, while not advising a regular cartel, he hoped some plan would be devised for an exchange of prisoners including those taken in privateers. On July 22, 1776, Congress voted to allow Washington to exchange soldier for soldier, sailor for sailor, and officer for officer of equal rank, and on August 1st General Howe in a letter to Washing-

ton agrees to this offer of exchange. From this time exchanges, despite an occasional friction, were conducted as in any foreign war.

The great bulk of American prisoners were confined at Halifax (Nova Scotia), New York, and Mill Prison (Plymouth, England). At Halifax the prisoners seemed to have been fairly treated and loosely guarded. Mill Prison was a military prison under stern discipline, with all the discomforts and petty tyrannies which are apt to accompany the herding together of large numbers of prisoners of war, but in the prison ships of New York the treatment of American prisoners was at times brutal and attended with a disgraceful and unnecessary mortality.

Several books have been published giving personal experiences on the prison ships at New York. One of the most interesting is Captain Thomas Dring's *Recollections of the Jersey Prison-Ship*.¹ The *Jersey* was originally a British ship of the line, but had been dismantled in 1780 and converted into a prison hulk. She was at first anchored in the East River, but later was taken to Long Island and moored in Wallabout Bay. Captain Dring apparently gives a very fair account of life aboard the *Jersey*. At the time of his capture he was master's mate aboard the privateer *Chance*, Captain Daniel Freeborn of Providence, Rhode Island, which was taken by the English ship *Belisarius* in 1782. On his arrival at New York he was sent aboard the *Jersey*. There was no distinction made on account of rank, officers and men occupied the same quarters and received the same food. Each prisoner received two-thirds of the regular allowance given the English sailors in the navy, one pound of beef or pork, one pound of bread and half a pint of peas, with butter, oatmeal, and suet occasionally. The rations were sufficient in quantity but apt to be of poor quality. The prisoners were allowed to drink all the water they wished at the casks on deck but were allowed to take only one pint below, and their meat was boiled in sea water. Their sufferings were aggravated by the cruelty of Jacob Strout,

¹ *Recollections of the Jersey Prison-Ship*; Taken and prepared for publication from the original manuscript of the late Captain Thomas Dring, of Providence, R. I., one of the prisoners. By Albert G. Greene, 1829. This was reprinted by Sidney S. Rider & Bro. in 1865. It was also reprinted, with notes by Henry B. Dawson, in 1865.

the Commissary of Prisoners, who was universally detested. Smallpox and Jersey fever were raging most of the time, as was natural where a thousand men dirty and low spirited were cooped up in a dark and ill ventilated hold. According to Captain Dring 10,000 prisoners died on the *Jersey* and the hospital ships *Scorpion*, *Strombol*, and *Hunter*, during the war.

Another account of life on the *Jersey* can be found in a book called *Martyrs to the Revolution in the British Prison-Ships in the Wallabout Bay*. The stories told in this book, written in 1855 by George Taylor, are evidently greatly exaggerated. One statement is that when the American prisoners gathered at the open hatchway of the *Jersey* to get fresh air, the sentries would bayonet them from pure malice and often as many as twenty-five prisoners would be killed in one night.

An interesting account of Mill Prison is given in Charles Herbert's *Relic of the Revolution*.¹ Herbert was nineteen years of age when he sailed on the *Dolton*, November 15, 1776. The *Dolton* soon after leaving port was taken by the English ship *Reasonable* and her crew transferred to the English vessel. While a prisoner aboard the *Reasonable* Herbert drew the rations of a British sailor, one pound of salt beef, one pound of bread, one pound of potatoes, and three pints of beer. On his arrival at Plymouth he was sent to Mill Prison where he received as rations one pound of bread, one-quarter pound of beef, one pound of greens, one quart of beer, and the water the beef was boiled in. According to Herbert the quantity was sufficient, though at times the beef was bad. The treatment given the prisoners was fair except in case of attempt to escape or other breach of discipline. While in prison he was visited September 25, 1778, by Captain Benjamin Ellingwood of Beverly, who had been taken prisoner the previous year on the schooner *Friendship* but who had been exchanged

¹ *A Relic of the Revolution*, . . . By Charles Herbert, of Newburyport, Mass. Who was taken prisoner in the Brigantine *Dolton*, Dec., 1776, and served in the U. S. Frigate *Alliance*, 1779-80. 1847. This was compiled by R. Livesey, though his name is not on the title-page. In a later impression, dated 1854, the title was changed to "The Prisoners of 1776; A Relic of the Revolution. Compiled by the Rev. Richard Livesey from the Journal of Charles Herbert, of Newburyport, Mass., who was taken prisoner in the brigantine *Dolton*, Dec. 1776, and confined in Old Mill Prison, Plymouth, England." The text of the two impressions appears to be identical, though the pagination is different.

and was now on his way home. He gives a list of those confined in Mill Prison in 1778 and only one Beverly man is mentioned, Benjamin Chipman. On his escape or release, Herbert made his way to France and shipped on board the *Alliance*, making two cruizes in the squadron commanded by John Paul Jones. His commander on the *Alliance* was Captain Peter Landais, whose dubious conduct in the battle between the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard* is a matter of history.¹

Another interesting account of prison life is given in John Blatchford's Narrative.² Blatchford, then fifteen years of age, was cabin boy on the Continental frigate *Hancock*, Captain Manly, which was taken by the English frigate *Rainbow* in 1777 and carried into Halifax. On his arrival at Halifax Blatchford was sent to the prison, formerly a sugar house, where he found the building crowded and the food insufficient and of poor quality. Soon after his arrival he planned with others to escape, but was betrayed by one of the prisoners and put in irons. Some weeks later he was allowed to walk around with his wrists manacled, and meeting the informer he withdrew one hand from the irons and struck the man to the ground. For this breach of discipline he was impressed on board the frigate *Greyhound* and a few months later, in company with other Americans, attempted to desert. They were discovered and a struggle ensued in which an English sentry was killed. On the *Greyhound's* return to port, Blatchford was tried for murder and acquitted, but it was

¹ The following extract from the Nathan Dane Papers, dated Beverly, December 2, 1781, shows that one man at least from Beverly served on the *Bon Homme Richard* and *Alliance*:

I, John Carrisco of Beverly, in the County of Essex, State of Mass., Mariner, constitute and appoint Nathan Dane my Attorney and hereby empower him to receive my wages and prize money due to me as a mariner on board the Good Man Richard, J. J. Jones, Commander, and also on board the Alliance, Peter Landais, Esq., Commander."

Larkin Thorndike }
John Thorndike } Witnesses

his
JOHN CARISCO
mark

² Narrative of Remarkable Occurrences, In the Life of John Blatchford, Of Cape-Ann, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, . . . Taken from his own mouth. M, DCC, LXXX, VIII. In 1865 Charles I. Bushnell published an edition, with notes, entitled "The Narrative of John Blatchford, retailing His sufferings in the Revolutionary War, while a Prisoner with the British. As related by himself."

thought best to get rid of him and he was shipped on board the East Indiaman *Princess Royal*, where he found thirty-two Americans all bound to the East Indies as a punishment for rebellion.¹ On their arrival at Sumatra he and the other Americans disembarked and found themselves forced to serve in the British army. Again he attempted with others to escape and again a sentry was killed and he and his friends retaken. For this he was sentenced to receive eight hundred lashes on his bare back, "but," he writes, "the whip was made of cotton with the knots cut off, so it was no worse than being whipped with cotton yarn." After numerous other adventures he escaped to France and made his way to L'Orient where he found three privateers from Beverly in port, the *Cicero*, *Buccanier*, and *Revolution*. "I entered," he continues, "on board the *Buccanier*, Capt. Phearson, and sailed on a cruize. We were out 18 days and returned with six prizes. Three days after we received news of peace, the privateer was dismantled and Capt. Phearson sailed on a merchant voyage to Norway. I then entered on a brig bound to Lisbon, Capt. Ellingwood of Beverly, and arrived in eight days. We took on a cargo of salt and arrived back at Beverly, May 9th 1783."

Another book, too vituperative to be of much authority, is entitled "The Destructive Operation of Foul Air, Tainted Provisions, Bad Water and Personal Filthiness upon the human Constitutions; exemplified in the unparalleled Cruelty of the British to the American Captives at New York during the Revolutionary War, on board their Prison and Hospital Ships in a communication to Dr. Mitchell, dated September 4, 1807."² The tenor of Captain Alexander Coffin's book may be inferred from one sentence: "If you were to rake the infernal regions I doubt whether you will find another set of demons such as the officers and men who had charge of the Jersey prison ship in the Summer of 1782."³

¹ On April 2, 1777, Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane wrote to the English ambassador at Paris calling attention to the fact that American prisoners were being employed in English ships to fight against their own people and also sent to distant ports where they stood little chance of being exchanged.

² Edited by Charles I. Bushnell in 1865.

³ Some other accounts may be mentioned.

An Account of the Interment of the Remains of 11,500 American Seamen, Soldiers and Citizens, who fell victims to the cruelties of the British, on board their prison ships at the Wallabout, During the American Revolution. 1803.

The above extracts show more or less truthfully what our American prisoners had to suffer in the jails and prison ships of the enemy, and some evidence will now be given which partly exonerates the English from these serious charges. Both Captain Coffin and Captain Dring were confined on the *Jersey* in the year 1782. June 3rd of the same year a number of American captains, many of them well known in Beverly and Salem, before leaving New York on parole, issued this statement:

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, masters of American vessels which have been captured by English cruisers and brought into this port, having obtained the enlargement of parole from his Excellency Rear Admiral Digby to return to our respective homes, being anxious before our departure to know the real state of the prisoners confined on

This was reprinted with notes by Dr. Henry R. Stiles in 1865 in *The Wallabout Prison Ship Series*, No. 2.

Memoirs of Andrew Sherburne (2d ed., 1831), pp. 81-98, 109-119.

The Old Jersey Captive: or a Narrative of the Captivity of Thomas Andros (now pastor of the church in Berkley,) on board the Old Jersey Prison Ship at New York, 1781. 1833.

Review. The Tomb of the Martyrs, who died in dungeons and pestilential prison-ships, in and about the City of New-York, during the seven years of our Revolutionary War. By Benjamin Romaine, . . . 4th July, 1839.

The Adventures of Christopher Hawkins, . . . With an Introduction and Notes by Charles I. Bushnell. 1864. (Written in 1834.)

Letters from the Prisons and Prison-Ships of the Revolution. With Notes by Henry R. Stiles, M. D. (*The Wallabout Prison-Ship Series*, No. 1.)

A Memoir of Eli Bickford, a Patriot of the Revolution. 1865. (Contains "The Prison-Ship Jersey. By Charles I. Bushnell," pp. 13-15.)

1888. A Christmas Reminder. Being the names of above eight thousand persons, a small portion of the number confined on board the British prison ships during the War of the Revolution. With the Compliments of the Society of Old Brooklynites. 1888.

Horrors of the Prison Ships. Dr. [Charles E.] West's Description of the Wallabout Floating Dungeons. How Captive Patriots Fared. 1895.

1776 Prison Ship Martyr Captain Jabez Fitch His Diary in Facsimile (1897 or 1903?)

Historical Society, Eliot, Maine, January, 1900. Old Mill Prison. Henry W. Fernald, Boston, Mass.

American Prisoners of the Revolution. By Danske Dandridge, . . . Charlottesville, Va., 1911. This is a book of ix, 504, pages, a bibliography being printed on pp. 503-504.

See also the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xix. 74-75, 136-141, 209-213 (List of Americans committed to Old Mill Prison during the War), xxxii. 42-44, 184-188, 305-308, 395-398 (Journal of Samuel Cutler).

board the prison ships and hospitals, appointed six of our number to go on board the prison ships for that purpose, and said Committee have gone on board five of them and do report, that they have found them as comfortable as is possible at this season of the year and much more so than they had any idea of.

That they inspected the beef, pork, flour, bread, vegetables and liquors which is found aboard his Majesty's vessels and found them good of their kind, and the prisoners acknowledge that they had no complaint to make but the want of clothes and a speedy exchange.

ROBERT HARRIS	CHARLES COLLINS
PHILEMON HASKELL	JONATHAN CARNES
CHRISTOPHER SMITH	JOHN CHASE
DANIEL ABORN	RICHARD MUGFORD
ROBERT CLIFTON	JOHN M'EWER
Dr. JOSEPH BOWEN	

The signers further state that the American prisoners in the hospital ships have good beds and not cots, with clean sheets of Russia linen and plenty of fresh provisions and wine.

While this is the evidence of men who had inspected and not lived on the *Jersey*, still the signers were men of too much intelligence and character to be entirely deceived or wilfully mistaken. Two of their number, Daniel Aborn and Dr. Joseph Bowen, at Admiral Digby's request took a letter from Commissary General Strout to Washington explaining that owing to the heat and overcrowding of the prison ships, due to a large influx of prisoners, all his efforts to keep the prisoners healthy were baffled, though five more ships had been taken for the purpose, and many set free on parole. On this account he asked an immediate and general exchange. At this time the Americans owed the English 1300 naval prisoners, whom they had set free on parole and the English owed the Americans 450 soldiers. Admiral Digby suggested an exchange of sailors for soldiers, but Washington refused on the ground that he was empowered only to exchange soldier for soldier and directed David Skinner, Commissary General on the American side, to write Admiral Digby to that effect. Thus on a technicality a number of American naval prisoners remained shut up in New York prison ships though the British were anxious to exchange.

It is probable that the balance of naval prisoners was against the

Americans during the whole war. An American privateer was under bonds to bring back its prisoners to this country,¹ but the danger of capture was always greatest on the coast line, the chance of being detained in the home port by embargo was great, and it was much safer and more economical to put the prisoners on some worthless prize and let them go free than to bring them back to America. Many prisoners were taken into France by American privateers cruising on the Irish coast or in the English channel, but these prisoners were then counted to the French. Most of the prizes taken by the English, on the other hand, were by frigates or other large vessels of war where the question of economy or safety did not enter and their prisoners were carried into port. November 15, 1777, Congress had ordered a bounty of \$20 to be paid to officers and men for every cannon captured on any vessel and \$8 for every prisoner. Had the bounty offered by the government to privateers and letter of marque vessels for prisoners delivered in America been sufficient to make this an object, many of our sailors suffering in English prisons might have been released. There seems no reason to accuse the English of unwillingness to exchange prisoners after August, 1776. Occasionally there were disputes and accusations of ill treatment or bad faith on either side, but as a rule relations were pleasant.

As to the treatment of American prisoners by the English there is no doubt that there were cases of cruelty and overcrowding, and the conditions on the New York prison ships were at times disgraceful, but any one who has had charge of hospitals or other large institutions knows how readily false stories are started and petty wrongs magnified. Prisoners certainly cannot be blamed for trying to escape, nor can jailors be blamed for punishing such attempts, and most of the stories of cruelty followed some breach of discipline.

As to the food furnished it seems to have been of about the same quality, though less in quantity, as that furnished to English sailors on English ships, where weevily biscuit and tainted meat were a matter of frequent occurrence. The impressment of American

¹ It is doubtful whether these bonds were often enforced, and, even if collected, they were too small for the purpose. The bond of the schooner *Hammond*, for example, was for £ 300 signed by Jacob Oliver as principal and Robert Shillaber as surety, that all prisoners taken at sea would be brought back into port for exchange. (Revolutionary Rolls, viii. 4.)

seamen on English men of war was a just cause of complaint and many Americans were undoubtedly compelled to fight against their own country and her allies, but for every American thus impressed probably ten English sailors were persuaded to serve on American privateers. True, impressment and voluntary service are different, but there was no way by which an English officer could tell what means were used to enlist English men on American vessels. Not only were our privateers largely manned by prisoners and deserters, but our Continental and State vessels sought recruits from the same source. In 1778 the Navy Board of Massachusetts in a letter to the Council wrote: "Beg leave to represent that seamen are much needed for manning the Continental vessels. We are informed there are among the prisoners now here, a number of Swedes, Dutch and some English prisoners who would readily enter the service. That we conceive it would help the public service to permit all the foreigners and a few of the English to enter on board the Continental ships." It must be remembered too that many American prisoners, weary of prison life, voluntarily enlisted on British ships and their home explanation of their service on a hostile vessel would naturally be impressment.

The treatment of English prisoners by the Americans was better than that of American prisoners by the English because with us there was no such necessity as existed in New York for the concentration of large numbers of prisoners in one prison or ship. Many of the English officers were parolled or allowed to go to New York to arrange their own exchanges. Some were boarded out in country villages and allowed the freedom of the town. Occasionally, on complaints of sufferers in English prisons, retaliation was practised and officers and men were ironed and treated with considerable severity. On January 2, 1781, the Massachusetts Council passed the following order:

Whereas there are a number of American prisoners in the Prison Ships at New York treated with more than Savage Barbarity and that in consequence of Such Treatment Numbers of said Prisoners have died and are Dying. . . . Therefore, ordered that the Hon. Navy Board be and hereby are requested immediately to order the Commissary of Prisoners to remove the prisoners from Noodle's Island on board the prison ship in the harbour of Boston, and all marine prisoners that are

at large in the town of Boston, and confine them in the hold of Said Ship and treat them in a similar manner as the American prisoners are treated in the Prison Ships of N. York until a different conduct is observed by the Enemy.¹

Many of the English prisoners were bound out for service. This was particularly so in the case of the Hessians captured at Bennington, some being employed in the salt works at Sandwich and others bound out to private parties as servants, blacksmiths, cordwainers, and farm hands. Complaints of cruelty and ill usage were common. The New York Mercury of May 22, 1782, has this item: "A number of prisoners, mostly seamen, arrived from Philadelphia yesterday. All complain loudly of their treatment in captivity. A great part of the time they were fed on dried clams. Fifteen clams and ten ounces of bread being a day's allowance."

Cartels were continually passing between English and American ports and as these vessels were necessarily unarmed and weakly manned, occasionally the prisoners on board would make the voyage an unpleasant one for their nominal jailors. Under date of January 23, 1782, several Beverly gentlemen make the following deposition:

We, Edward Allen, Isaac Haskell, Benj. Woodberry and Thomas Ginn, all of lawful age, testify that we were officers on board the sloop, *Tryall*, a flag of truce lately arrived St. Lucie, said Allen being Commander. We sailed from Boston October 21, with 31 English prisoners aboard. About the third day they became very insolent and took all our small stores out of the cabin and were very abusive. When a barrel of beef was opened they would take the best part of it and they wasted the bread and threw part of it into the sea.

The trade carried on between Nova Scotia and Massachusetts under the pretext of the removal of families has already been referred to, but the return of escaped and parolled prisoners, greatly facilitated by this trade, was a matter of more importance. American prisoners at Halifax were loosely guarded and often escaped or were parolled. In either case they often made their way to Yarmouth or Barrington and were there treated with kindness and furnished transportation to their homes. A small vessel conveyed them to some Massachusetts port and the cargo of dried fish or salt, which

¹ Massachusetts Archives, clxxvii. 301.

always accompanied these expeditions, was sold after petition to the Council. These petitions were always accompanied by letters of recommendation from escaped prisoners they had aided. One of the letters used by Benjamin Brown of Yarmouth, a frequent visitor to Beverly, was as follows:

That about the fifth of November last I had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the enemy and having my liberty to walk about at Halifax, Mr. Benj. Brown carried me with Mr. Dugan and Ephriam Lacky to Yarmouth and there entertained us at his own expense about one week and then procured us a passage to the States. I have been credibly informed that said Brown has treated all the prisoners he could find in the same hospitable way. I saw a certificate of this kind in said Brown's possession, signed by Capt. Stevens, his officers and men. I am confident Brown is a friend to the liberties of America and entitled to any favor the Hon. Court sees fit to bestow on him.

Signed at Beverly, JOHN ASHTON, late Commander of schooner Hampden.

Another certificate, signed by well known Beverly men, was used by Thomas Flint, also a frequent visitor to Beverly:

Capersaw, Oct. 24th 1778, the Subscribers have been taken prisoners and carried to Halifax and was Issisted away to this place by Thomas Flint and Supported while in this place and we Suscribers would be glad if the Gentlemen of the Court take the Same in Consideration and Grant same Thomas Flint Such Favor as will help him.

JOSEPH STEWERT,	ELEAZER GILES,
JOHN HERRICK,	BENJ. VERY,
JAMES HERRICK,	NATHANIEL BATCHELDER.

The year 1781 had been very disastrous to the owners of private armed vessels and in the latter part of the year George Williams of Salem and sixty-one other merchants petitioned the General Court, stating that it was the opinion of the seaport towns of Massachusetts that the trading Nova Scotians coming to this country caused information of the force, number and destination of their armed vessels and proposed voyages of merchant vessels to be conveyed to the enemy and through such information they have lost the greater part of their most valuable privateers. "Your petitioners therefor ask, if you think it expedient, to put a stop to all such per-

missions and direct the Naval Officer and Selectmen to make search in each town of the State and apprehend as prisoners of war all Nova Scotians that may be among us, that they may be exchanged for our townsmen and others suffering on board of British Guard Ships." The General Court assented and for a time and to some extent carried out the spirit of the petition.

There is no doubt that the Nova Scotians did carry information to the enemy, nor can we blame them. They also gave information to the Americans and helped their seamen to escape, and in the unfortunate position in which they were placed they were obliged to help both parties. That the profit was greater than the injury was the opinion of many, and a petition headed by William Tuck of Beverly, late commander of Mr. Cabot's ship *Lyon*, and signed by Francis Cabot, and 161 others, asking that trade with Yarmouth and Barrington be renewed, was sent to the General Court. This petition of William Tuck —

Humbly Showeth that the ship *Lyon* lately fell into the hands of the enemy. The *Blonde* frigate which captured her was wrecked upon the Seal Islands from which Company, Consisting of about Sixty Men in all, made their escape to Yarmouth, Cape Forsen, in Nova Scotia, where the Inhabitants Received and entertained us very kindly for four days during Which they fitted out three Small Vessels with provisions necessary for the purpose and Brout Said Tuck & Co. and a number of other prisoners, to the Amount of about 100 in all, Safe to this Commonwealth. This friendly act was a Great favor to us and particularly so when we consider the Extreme Sufferings of a Great Number of our Brothers on Board the English Prison Ships.

The petition then goes on to state the condition of the people of Yarmouth, unable to sell their fish in the States or obtain things necessary for their comfort, and calls attention to the fact that they will be unable in the future to help American prisoners unless they can dispose of their fish in Massachusetts.

This petition was accompanied by one from Thomas Flint, Benjamin Brown, and James Kelly who —

Humbly show that in the beginning of May last, the British frigate *Blonde* was wrecked on Seal Island. At which time Said Ship had a large number of American prisoners on board who Got permission to return home but destitute of every kind of support. Your petitioners,

Inhabitants of Cape persue, being Owners of three Small Shallops, fitted them out and brought Said Americans to the States to the number of 65 and supported them all for twelve days at their Own expense. And as Your Petitioners have not been able to obtain even a Replacement of the provisions expended in the service of returning 65 seamen to this State, they Humbly pray the Hon. Court to take Premises into their wise Consideration and direct that such Allowances be made as to Right and Justice shall appertain.

The Council granted them twelve days ration for 65 men and permission to return to Nova Scotia. It is to be hoped that the merchants of Beverly made them some acknowledgement for their services as the allowance by the State seems rather small. From this time trade was resumed, but not with the good will of former years, and in 1782 David Corning, so often mentioned, while bringing fourteen American prisoners to the States was taken by the privateer *Fly* of Salem and sent in as a prize. The General Court, however, ordered her release and gave Corning permission to return to Nova Scotia.

The number of Beverly seamen made prisoners during the war must have been large, but the record is very deficient. A few incomplete reports of English prisons, local tradition, and scattered mentions in the newspapers of the day and the Massachusetts Archives, are all we have to rely on. The following incomplete and unsatisfactory list includes only marine prisoners claiming residence in Beverly. Probably the first Beverly man made prisoner in the war was Andrew Gage. He was taken on some unknown Beverly vessel in 1775 and confined in or impressed on some unknown English ship. On June 22, 1778, the Selectmen of Beverly and Elizabeth Gage petitioned for permission to sell land belonging to Andrew Gage as he was still detained.

In the Nathan Dane Papers is a deposition so curious that we transcribe it, although the deponent was not a marine prisoner though a mariner.

I, James Gray of Beverly in the County of Essex, in the State of Mass. Do Say and Declare that I Inlisted in the Continental Service in 1775, a Years Service under Capt. Nathan Brown of this County, Israel Hutchinson Esq. Colonel — Jepson Clough, Ensign. I was marched from Winter Hill to New London and thence to Fort Washington wheir

we was made Captives and Carried to N.York and there Suffered Severity more than flesh could Bare. 1st Day after we was marched to N.York, I, amongst a Great Number, was taken Sick and a Very Mortifying sickness it Proved to many. I was carried to the Quaker Meeting house, the Improvised Hospittle, where the most died that was taken with that Distemper. I was unable to be exchanged on account of my Being in two Shocking Condition. But I am left to remember the Seen Underwent as well as my Brother Soldiers. I was four years in a Pitteyfull Condition. At last I got away and Feb. 7, 1780 aRived at Salem. From Whence, The 16th day of the month following, I went to Uncle William Gray, who I was his apprentice. The Appearance of me, to him and they and the town was as One Rose from the Dead. Tarred with him about a fortnite, then went to see with Capt. Samuel Foster, Returned in three months and Set up my trade in Beverly as painter and glazer.

One of the first privateers commissioned by the State was the *Yankee Hero*, Captain Tracy, of Newburyport. She was taken by an English frigate May 30, 1776, and one at least of her crew, James Mecomb, was from Beverly. The crew of the *Yankee Hero* returned on a cartel November 8, 1776.¹

In 1776 the ship *Thomas*, belonging to Thomas Stephens of Beverly, on a voyage from Beverly for Baltimore, laden with a cargo of rum and sugar, was taken by a British cruizer and her captain, Robert Standly, made prisoner.²

The same year, 1776, precise date unknown, Osmond Thorndike was taken on the *Peggy* by the letter of marque ship *Dunmore*. He was exchanged in December, 1776.³

Captain Benjamin Leach of Manchester, at one time a resident of Beverly, was taken on a prize of the privateer *Hawk* in 1777 and soon after exchanged.⁴

Richard Dyson and Jonathan Parsons, mariners on some privateer, were sent home from New York on the cartel brig *Rising Empire* in 1777, no exact date given.⁵

Daniels Adams, 1st lieutenant on the brigantine *Freedom*, Captain

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cxxvi. 226.

² Force, 5 American Archives, iii. 602.

³ Revolutionary Rolls, ix. 74.

⁴ Genealogical and Personal Memoirs of Families of Boston.

⁵ Revolutionary Rolls, ix. 68.

Clouston, was taken by the frigate *Apollo* and confined on the prison ship *Good Content* in New York harbor in 1777. He remained there one year before he was exchanged. In 1782 when in command of the schooner *Lively* he was taken by the frigate *Pandora*, Captain Ingles, and sent into New York. He was detained only a short time.¹

Benjamin Ellingwood, captain of the schooner *Friendship*, was taken by the letter of marque *Tom*, December 26, 1777, and carried into England, but was released on exchange the next year.²

John Ashton was prize master on the privateer brigantine *Washington* and while in command of one of her prizes, the snow *Friendship*, was taken by a British cruizer and carried into Halifax. He was exchanged June 28, 1777. In 1778 while in command of the schooner *Hampden* of Salem he was again taken prisoner and taken into Halifax, parolled, and returned to Beverly by the kind offices of Benjamin Brown of Yarmouth. He is reported as taken again while in command of the brigantine *Neptune* in 1779.³

The privateer *Retaliation* of Beverly was taken in the autumn of 1777 and on April 16, 1778, the cartel *Industry* was directed to bring back from Halifax Captain Eleazer Giles, Lieutenant Benjamin Joy, Dr. Elisha Whitney, Thomas Darly, and William Moses. Elisha Whitney was surgeon on the *Retaliation*, and though at this time was not a resident of Beverly became so later.⁴

September 30, 1778, a cartel from Halifax brought Andrew Peabody, Joseph Foster, Thomas Giles, Elisha Ellinwood, and Andrew Peabody. The last name appears twice. An Andrew Peabody of Beverly was taken on the ship *Essex* in 1781, presumably one of the two mentioned.⁵

A testimonial dated October 24, 1778, signed by Joseph Stewert, John Herrick, James Herrick, Nathaniel Batchelder, Eleazer Giles, and Benjamin Very, shows that they were prisoners in Halifax in the early autumn of 1778. They were all probably part of the crew of the *Retaliation*.⁶

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cliii. 67.

² New York Gazette and Mercury, February 2, 1778.

³ Massachusetts Archives, cxxv. 149.

⁴ Revolutionary Rolls, ix. 49.

⁵ New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xix. 74.

⁶ Massachusetts Archives, clxxxiv. 34.

One of the testimonials used by Mr. Brown of Yarmouth was signed by Benjamin Ives, Thomas Stephens, and William Groves all Beverly men, prisoners in Halifax in 1777-1778. Thomas Stephens was 1st lieutenant of the privateer *Retaliation* and later commander of the schooner *Hammond*. Benjamin Ives was captain of the privateer schooner *Scorpion* and the letter of marque brigantine *Fortune*. William Groves was probably taken prisoner while in command of the privateer schooner *Blackbird*. Later he commanded the brigantine *Success*, the sloop *Fish Hawk*, and the brig *Eagle*.¹

The privateer *Warren* of Beverly was taken by the English ship *Fanny*, January 6, 1778, and Benjamin Chipman, the only Beverly man recorded among the prisoners, was committed to Mill Prison June 4, 1778. He afterwards escaped.

The brigantine *Rambler* was captured by the English frigate *Sibyl*, October 21, 1779, and one of her crew, Michael Downs, a Beverly man, was committed to Mill Prison, February 16, 1780.

The brig *Eagle* was taken June 21, 1780, and William Haskell, Alexander Carrico, and George Groce, of the crew, were committed to Mill Prison. William Haskell was committed July 5, 1781, Alexander Carrico and George Groce February 6, 1782. The commander of the *Eagle*, William Groves, with Curtis Woodberry, William Morgan, Henry Tuck, Joseph Woodberry and probably other Beverly men, must also have been taken on the same vessel.

From the ship *Essex*, taken June 10, 1781, Joseph Perkins, Levi Woodberry, Robert Raymond, Matthew Chambers, and Andrew Peabody were all committed to Mill Prison July 21, 1781. James Lovett and Benjamin Sprague of the same vessel, August 5, 1781.

John Tuck, Thomas Hadden, Josiah Foster, Hezekiah Thissel, Nathaniel Woodberry, and Zebulon Ober, of the snow *Diana* taken June 15, 1781, were committed to Mill Prison January 23, 1782.

William Haskell of Beverly is reported as having been taken on the brig *English* and carried to Quebec. He was committed to Mill Prison July 23, 1781.

The ship *Resource*, Captain Richard Ober, was taken by a British cruizer in the autumn of 1780. There is a list of the officers and crew dated September 11, 1780, and it is probable that all those

¹ Massachusetts Archives, cxxv. 419.

mentioned were on the vessel at the time of her capture and made prisoners: Richard Ober captain, Andrew Thorndike 1st mate, Samuel Cressy¹ 2nd mate, John Waters, Andrew Ober, John Woodby, Jacob Woodby, Andrew Woodby, Thomas Woodby, Ebenezer Woodby, John Lovett, Nathan Thorn, Jacob Thompson, John Savage, Thomas Harris, Thomas Ober, David Allen, Richard Ober, Richard Thorn, Nicholas Thorndike, John Rea, Joseph Ray, and Andrew Woodman, all of Beverly. The *Resource* was bound for the West Indies and her crew was carried into Jamaica.

Ebenezer Ray was impressed on board the frigate *Pelican*, commanded by Captain Collingwood, afterwards second in command at the battle of Trafalgar. In August, 1781, the *Pelican* was wrecked and her crew escaped to a small uninhabited island where they remained ten days until rescued by the *Diamond* frigate and carried back to Jamaica. Ray was confined on another man-of-war from which he managed to escape and for twenty-five days wandered, half starved, about the island. Finally he got aboard a Spanish cartel about to sail for Havana, and on her arrival at that port took passage on a brig to Boston. On the voyage the vessel was taken by an English cruizer and Ray was carried into New York and confined on the *New Jersey*. In May, 1782, he was exchanged and returned to Beverly.

Stephen Roundy was taken on the ship *Hawk*, Captain Smith, in 1780. He was taken to New York and impressed on board the *Conqueror*, where he continued to serve until peace was declared. The story is told of him that after some battle in which the Americans were worsted, a British officer sneeringly asked him, "What do you think of King Washington now?" "I think *he* is a gentleman" was the answer.

The brig *Black Princess* was a Dunkirk privateer, commissioned by Franklin and the other commissioners of Paris. Some papers in the Essex Institute indicate that she was originally a Salem vessel, but in 1781 she sailed from Dunkirk with a crew consisting largely of English deserters. She was very successful and before her capture, October 11, 1781, had taken 36 prizes. There were several Salem and Marblehead men aboard, and one man, John Baker, from Beverly, who on October 20, 1781, was committed to Mill Prison.

¹ Samuel Cressy (1751-1782), son of Benjamin and Mehitable (Brown) Cressy.

The brigantine *Gen. Wayne*, Captain John Leach of Beverly, on a voyage to the West Indies, was taken by a British cruizer in 1780 and carried to Bermuda. Captain Leach either escaped or was parolled, as he arrived back at Boston September 5, 1780.¹

The *Gen. Gates* was taken by the British cruizer *Hope*, no date given. Benjamin Bickford and Nathaniel Wallace are reported captured. John Bickford, steward of the *Gen. Gates*, was also taken. The latter was returned to Marblehead on the cartel *Pacific*.

Jonathan Larcom is said to have been captured on the brigantine *Neptune*, Captain John Ashton, in 1779.

The brigantine *Defence* of Beverly was taken October 2, 1781, by the English ship *Chatham*, and the following Beverly men were taken prisoners: John Edmands captain, Captain Jonathan Carwick 1st mate, John Pickett carpenter, John Wilkins gunner, Stephen Costello, John Bray, James Babson, John Gage, Daniel Batchellor, William Allen.

There were a number of vessels commanded by Beverly captains taken by British cruizers during the war, where no particulars were given as to officers and crew, though doubtless manned to some extent by Beverly men. The list is as follows:

Brig	<i>Spit Fire</i>	Capt. John Patten	Taken in 1780
Brigantine	<i>Active</i>	" " "	" " 1781
Brigantine	<i>Fanny</i>	Capt. Herbert Woodberry	" " 1781
Ship	<i>Commerce</i>	Capt. Stephen Webb	" " 1781
Sloop	<i>Fish Hawk</i>	Capt. Samuel Foster	" " 1781
Ship	<i>Sebastian</i>	Capt. Ichabod Groves	" " 1780
Ship	<i>Mohock</i>	Capt. John Carnes	" " 1782
Ship	<i>Lyon</i>	Capt. William Tuck	" " 1782
Brigantine	<i>Swift</i>	Capt. Israel Johnson	" " 1782
Unknown brig		Capt. Andrew Thorndike	" " 1782

Benjamin and Isaac Chapman, Thomas Giles, Benjamin Giles, Thomas Davis, and Nathaniel Trask were taken prisoners with Capt. Thorndike.

The number of Beverly mariners taken prisoners during the war, as chronicled above, was 108. Some of them were taken prisoner two or three times, and the number of those actually taken prisoners is no doubt much greater than the number of those known to have been taken prisoners. The writer believes from careful computa-

¹ Massachusetts Archives, clxxvii. 63.

tion that two-thirds of the male population of Beverly between the ages of eighteen and sixty were at one time or another prisoners to the English.

VIII

In the foregoing sections the private armed vessels of Beverly have been treated collectively and some passed over lightly. At the risk of repetition, they have in this section been arranged alphabetically with some particulars added not considered necessary when telling their story.

ACTIVE

Brigantine *Active*, 120 tons, 10 guns and 25 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Job Prince and others of Boston, Benjamin Ellingwood commissioned master May 5, 1780. Bond signed by Job Prince and William Creed as owners. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 148.)

Brigantine *Active*, same tonnage and force. Officers and men on board the brig *Active* as taken by the captain the day of his sailing from Beverly for Gottenburg July 10, 1780, Samuel Cabot, agent:

Benjamin Ellingwood captain	Born in Beverly and remains there
John Hammond 1st mate	" in Marblehead and remains in Beverly
Thomas Butman 2nd mate	" in Beverly and remains in Beverly
Daniel Trask steward	" in Beverly and remains in Beverly
William Gard gunner	" in Liverpool and remains in Beverly
Israel Trask cook	" in Beverly and remains in Beverly
James Murray boatswain	" in Glasgow and remains in Beverly
Joseph Weeks	" in Beverly and remains in Beverly
John Bously	" in Bristol and remains in Salem

Others from Milton, Mistick, and Boothbay. (Revolutionary Rolls, xviii.)

Brigantine *Active*, 150 tons, 12 guns and 60 men. Privateer. On petition of Job Prince in behalf of Andrew and Samuel Cabot, Nathaniel Swasey commissioned commander December 16, 1780. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 314.)

Brigantine *Active* 100 tons, 14 four-pounders and 60 men. Privateer. On petition of Andrew Cabot and others of Beverly, John Patten commissioned commander April 9, 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 364.)

Brigantine *Active* taken and carried into Halifax. September 22, 1781, Captain John Patten and crew of the *Active* arrived at Boston in a cartel. (New York Mercury, September 28, 1781.)

ADVENTURE

Schooner *Adventure*, 48 tons, 6 carriage and 8 swivel guns and 35 men. On petition of Larkin Thorndike and others, Robert Newman commissioned commander September 8, 1777. Privateer. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 379.)

Schooner *Adventure*, same tonnage and force, on petition of John Dyson, William James of Beverly commissioned commander, May 11, 1780. John Dyson and Benjamin Goldthwaithe sureties. (Revolutionary Rolls, v. 5; Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 279.)

BLACK PRINCE

Ship *Black Prince*, 220 tons, 18 guns, 120 men. Privateer. On petition of William Pickman, William Orne, Larkin Thorndike and others of Salem and Beverly, Elias Smith commissioned commander, June 17, 1778. (Massachusetts Archives, clxviii. 351.)

Ship *Black Prince*, same tonnage, force and owners. Privateer. On petition of George Williams and others of Salem, Nathaniel West commissioned commander, Samuel Carleton 1st lieutenant, Benjamin Crownshield 2nd Lieutenant, October 17, 1778. The *Black Prince* was burned by the crew at the time of the Penobscot expedition. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 236.)

BUCCANIER

Ship *Buccanier*, 350 tons, 18 nine-pounders, 150 men. Privateer. On petition of J. & A. Cabot, Hoystead Hacker commissioned commander, Abraham Hawkins 1st Lieutenant, August 3, 1781.

On petition of Job Prince for same owners, March 27, 1782, Jesse Fearson was commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 126.)

CATO

Snow *Cato*, 10 four-pound guns and 30 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Job Prince in behalf of A. & J. Cabot, Eleazer Giles of Beverly commissioned commander, September 18, 1779. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 403.)

CENTIPEDE¹

Schooner *Cent. Peid*, 45 tons, 16 swivel guns, 35 men. Privateer. Petition of Elias H. Derby, Joseph White, and Miles Greenwood of Salem, William Langdon or Langdell commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxviii. 103.) On bond given December 5, 1777, with William Langdon as principal and E. H. Derby as security, she is called *Santape*. In libel against schooner *Betty*, May 14, 1778, she is called *Centi Pea*.

Schooner *Cent Pede*, 40 tons, 16 swivel guns and 40 men. Privateer. May 23, 1778, petition of E. H. Derby, Samuel Ingersoll commissioned commander. In libel of Captain Ingersoll against schooner *Bickford* she is called *Saint te Pea*. On bond by Captain Ingersoll, she is called *Cent Pea*.

Schooner *Cent a Pede*, Privateer. Petition of Miles Greenwood and others, Joseph Pratt commissioned commander, with John Gavet as 1st lieutenant and John Peters sailing master, September 29, 1778. Some time in 1778 Livermore Whittredge was agent and Josiah Batchelder, Jr., of Beverly, owner of the *Santipe*. Eben Rogers, William Wyatt, John Galls, and Willis Standly, all of Beverly, were members of the crew.

Schooner *Sentipe*, 4 carriage and 10 swivel guns, 50 men. Privateer. Petition of Nathaniel Silsbee, Gideon Henfield commissioned commander, August 3, 1779.

CHANCE

Brig *Chance*, 85 tons, Captain Zachariah Gage, belonging to A. & J. Cabot. Letter of marque. Sold at Cape François in 1782.

¹ For the various forms of this name, see p. 347 note 1, above.

CICERO

Ship *Cicero*, 300 tons, 10 nine- and 6 four-pound guns, 60 men. Letter of marque. Petition of A. Cabot and others of Beverly, January 16, 1781, Hugh Hill commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 332.)

COMMERCE

Ship *Commerce*, 200 tons, 6 nine- and 8 four-pound guns, 50 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Andrew Cabot, January 16, 1781, Stephen Webb commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 332.)

CONTENT

Ship *Content*. Owned by Nathan Leach of Beverly. February 21, 1777, Nathan Leach sells ship *Content* to the State for £1900.

CORNWALL

Ship *Cornwall*, 200 tons, 10 four-pound guns, 25 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Mark Lafitte, John Edmonds commissioned master, January 15, 1778, John Bickford 1st lieutenant.

COUNT D'ESTAING

Ship *Count D'Estaing*, 150 tons, 10 four-pounders, 25 men. Letter of marque. On petition of John Dyson and others of Beverly, Elias Smith commissioned commander, August 22, 1780, with Daniel Payne 1st mate, Theodore Williams 2nd mate, Hugh Hathorne boatswain, James Ferrinson steward, Zachariah Stone gunner. Of the crew only seven were born in New England and seventeen were foreigners. The only Beverly men in the crew were Henry Oliver, Jacob Oliver, and Thomas Smith.

DEFENCE

Brigantine *Defence*, 170 tons, 16 six-pound cannon, 100 men. Privateer. On petition of Andrew Cabot and Moses Brown, July 6, 1779, John Edmonds commissioned commander with Nathaniel Swazey 1st lieutenant, John Boardman 2nd lieutenant. June 30, 1779, the *Defence* was at anchor in Beverly harbor. She was a new vessel just fitted out for a cruize against the Quebec fleet. She joined the Penobscot expedition and was burned to escape capture. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 209.)

Brigantine *Defence*, 150 tons, 16 four-pound guns, 50 men. Letter of marque. Petition of J. & A. Cabot, John Edmands commissioned master. March 22, 1780. List of officers and crew July 21, 1781: John Edmands captain, Jonathan Carwick 1st mate, John Dutch 2nd mate, John Picket carpenter, John Wilkins gunner, William Brown boatswain, Stephen Costello, John Bray, James Babson, John Gage, Daniel Batchelor and William Allen, all mariners from Beverly. William Lakeman, from Ipswich, was prize master and there were 14 mariners from Ipswich, balance of the crew from Gloucester. October 2, 1781, on a voyage from Bilbao to Beverly with a cargo of steel, silks, linen and blankets, she was taken in Boston Bay, by H. B. M. Ship *Chatham*. (Revolutionary Rolls, xxiv. 53.)

DIANA

Schooner *Diana*, 40 tons, 4 guns, 20 men. Privateer. Petition of Joseph Swasey and others of Beverly, Richard Lakeman commander, August 20, 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 64.)

DIANA

Snow Diana, 140 tons, 8 guns, 25 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Larkin Thorndike September 19, 1780, William Herrick commissioned commander, with Benjamin Bickford 1st mate, William Gage 2nd mate, Robert Stone, John Eveleth, Zebulon Ober, Joseph Kittrege, John Kilam and William Roberts mariners from Beverly. Other members of the crew were Elijah Whitreg of Danvers, John Tuck of Manchester, George Hall, Moses Lufkin, John Tropater, Benjamin Swain, Nehemiah Dean, Alfred Dodge, Israel Dodge, Benjamin Lamson, John Balch, and Joseph Lufkin, all from Hamblet. The *Diana* was taken by an English cruizer June 15, 1781, and John Tuck, Thomas Hadden, Joseph Foster, Hezekiah Thissel, Nathan Woodman, and Zebulon Ober, all Beverly men, were taken prisoners on her. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 132.)

DOLPHIN

Schooner *Dolphin*, 40 tons, 6 guns, 35 men. Privateer. Petition of William Homans and others of Beverly, Joseph Knolton commissioned commander, July 14, 1781. August 12, 1782, she was reported wrecked on Cape Sable.

DOVE

Sloop *Dove*, unknown tonnage, commanded and owned by Robert Haskell of Beverly. Spy vessel employed by the State. (Massachusetts Archives, cxcv. 110.)

DRIVER

Sloop *Driver*, 70 tons, 8 guns, 20 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., Daniel Adams commissioned master, September 1, 1777. Robert Haskell of Beverly commanded the *Driver* in 1779. The *Driver* was owned by Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and Livermore Whittredge.

EAGLE

Return of officers and petty officers of privateer brig *Eagle* June 17, 1780: William Groves commander, John Fearson 1st lieutenant, John Harris 2nd lieutenant, Jacob Oliver of Beverly master, Philip Richerson of Beverly mate, Joseph Knight, Aaron Lee, Paul Foster prize masters, Thomas Pousland gunner, John Leach boatswain, and Moses Prince steward. The Beverly names in the crew, residence not given, were Joseph Ober, Thomas Stevens, Robert Leach, William Morgan, Henry Tuck, George Gross, Joseph Baker, and Curtis Woodberry. Some of these might have been equally well residents of Salem. The *Eagle*, owned by James Lovett and Moses Brown, was taken by an English cruizer July 21, 1780.

ESSEX

Ship *Essex*, 200 tons, 20 guns, 150 men. Privateer. Petition of Jonathan Jackson, Joseph Lee and J. & A. Cabot, April 14, 1781, John Cathcart commissioned commander, Job Prince agent. May 6, 1780, John Cathcart was commander, Eben T. Thayer of Boston 1st lieutenant, James Lovett of Salem 2nd lieutenant, H. Pearson of Boston master, John Taylor of Providence, R. I., captain of marines, George Odell of Boston mate. There were no names signed as from Beverly. The *Essex* was taken by H. B. M. Ship *Queen Charlotte* June 10, 1781. The following Beverly men were taken on her: Joseph Perkins, Robert Raimond, Levi Woodberry, Andrew Peabody, Matthew Chambers, James Lovett, and Benj. Sprague. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 369.)

EXPERIMENT

Brigantine *Experiment*, 130 tons, 6 six-pound guns, 2 swivels, 20 muskets, and 25 men. Letter of marque to West Indies. Petition of George Cabot, Joseph Lee and others, March 30, 1779, John Porter commissioned master. The petition asks that the *Experiment* may be commissioned "To trade with the Allies of U. S. in the W. I., and whereas in the course of the voyage there may be opportunity of annoying and capturing the vessels and property of the enemies of the U. S. Your petitioners pray Your Honors to grant said John Porter proper warrant therefore."

FANNY

Brigantine *Fanny*, 6 guns, 15 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Livermore Whittredge, William Bartlett and others, June 14, 1780, Herbert Woodberry commissioned master. Taken May 28, 1781, by H. B. M. brig *Providence*. The list of officers and crew August 23, 1780, was as follows: Herbert Woodberry captain, Samuel Stone 1st mate, Edward Foster 2nd mate, William Hally, Luke Woodberry, Nathaniel Trask, Jeremiah Thorndike, Martin Dayall, Josiah Foster, Blackenberry Prince, Josiah Ober, Jacob Woodberry, Thomas Dodge mariners. Thomas Dodge was from Wenham, all the rest from Beverly.

FISH HAWK

Sloop *Fish Hawk*, 50 tons, 8 guns, 40 men. Privateer. Petition of John Dyson in behalf of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and others, September 1, 1779, William Groves commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 378.)

Sloop *Fish Hawk*, 50 tons, 8 guns, 16 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., November 30, 1779, Samuel Foster commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 35.)

Sloop *Fish Hawk*, Letter of marque. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., Sept. 1st 1780 Israel Ober commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxvii. 45.)

Sloop *Fish Hawk*, 60 tons, 6 guns, 40 men. Privateer. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., Samuel Foster commissioned commander, May 2, 1781. The *Fish Hawk* was taken Sept. 21st 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 381.)

The list of the officers and crew who signed as Beverly men June 6, 1780, was as follows:

Samuel Foster, captain	32 years	5 ft. 5 in.	Dark
Nathaniel Ober, 1st mate	21 "	5 " 8 "	Light
Robert Stone, mariner	25 "	5 " 5 "	"
Isaiah Foster, "	21 "	5 " 4 "	Dark
Thomas Fitzgerald, "	22 "	5 " 6 "	Light
Benj. Sprague, "	20 "	5 " 4 "	Dark
Zebulon Ober, "	19 "	5 " 4 "	Light
George Groce, "	28 "	5 "	Dark
Eben Ray, "	19 "	5 " 5 "	Light
Osman Thorndike, "	19 "	5 " 5 "	Light
James Pearce, cabin boy	17 "	5 " 4 "	Light

FLY

Sloop *Fly*, 50 tons, 4 carriage and 8 swivel guns, 40 men. Privateer. On petition of Andrew Cabot and Benjamin Lovett, John Marsh commissioned commander, August 29, 1778, with Ezra Ober as 1st lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 117.)

FORTUNE

Brigantine *Fortune*, 100 tons, 8 guns and 18 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Miles Greenwood and John Dyson, June 29, 1779, Francis Bowman commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 190.)

Brigantine *Fortune*, 140 tons, 12 guns and 36 men. Privateer. Petition of Miles Greenwood, April 27, 1780, Jesse Fearson commissioned commander (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 136.)

Brigantine *Fortune*, 14 guns and 60 men. Privateer. Petition of John Dyson July 3, 1781, Benjamin Ives commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 421.)

Brigantine *Fortune*, 7 guns, 15 men. Letter of marque. Petition of John Dyson and others of Beverly, November 7, 1781, Richard Ober of Beverly commissioned commander.

FOX

Brigantine *Fox*, 150 tons, 8 guns, 15 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Stephen Higginson of Boston, Israel Johnson commissioned master, July 15, 1780. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 196.)

Ship *Fox*, 100 tons, 8 guns and 20 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Benjamin Lovett, Israel Johnson commissioned master, May 9, 1782. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 152.)

The bond of Brigantine *Fox*, July 14, 1780, signed by Benjamin Lovett, Salem, is given in Revolutionary Rolls, v. 228. Whether the brigantine was rigged as a ship or there were two vessels seems uncertain.

FRANKLIN

Brigantine *Franklin*, 200 tons, 18 six-pounders, 100 men. Privateer. On petition of J. & A. Cabot and Bartholemew Putnam of Salem, April 20th 1778, Thomas Connolly commissioned commander, I. Leach 1st lieutenant, J. Selman 2nd lieutenant, and Jonathan Stevenson master.

Brigantine *Franklin*, 200 tons, 18 guns and 120 men. Privateer. On petition of E. H. Derby, Jacob Ashton, and Bart. Putnam, Oct. 16, 1778, John Leach commissioned commander, Jacob Oliver 1st lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 229.)

Brigantine *Franklin*, 160 tons, 18 guns, 100 men. Privateer. On petition of E. H. Derby, Joseph Robinson commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 43.)

Ship *Franklin*, 200 tons, 15 guns, 120 men. Privateer. Petition of Joseph Robinson on behalf of the owners, September 4, 1779, Joseph Robinson commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 391.)

Ship *Franklin*, 220 tons, 18 guns and 100 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Nathan Goodale, March 24, 1780, John Turner commissioned captain, John Bray 1st mate, William Bacon surgeon. Under Captain Turner there were many

Marblehead, but no Beverly, men in the crew. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 105.)

Ship *Franklin*, 200 tons, 18 guns, 100 men. Privateer. Petition of J. & A. Cabot, June 22, 1781, John Allen Hallet commissioned commander, Silas Devoll 1st lieutenant. On the back of the petition is endorsed "John Allen Hallet, Master of the within ship, is 37 years of age, 6 ft. 6 in. in stature, and of dark complexion. Silas Devoll, 1st Lieut. is 6 ft. tall, 40 years of age and dark." (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 415.)

Ship *Franklin*, 200 tons, 18 guns, 100 men. Privateer. On petition of Bart. Putnam of Salem, December 14, 1781, Silas Devoll commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 81.) The Salem Gazette of April 26, 1782, reports that privateer *Franklin*, Captain Devoll, has been taken by H. B. M. frigates *Assurance* and *Amphitrite*.

FREEDOM

Brigantine *Freedom*, 90 tons, 7 guns, 15 men. Letter of marque. Petition of John Lovett of Beverly, September 7, 1780, Benjamin Ober commissioned master, Jonathan Foster 1st mate, William Dike Cooper, Jonathan Clary and Cornelius Woodberry mariners, all from Beverly. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 268.)

FRIENDSHIP

Schooner *Friendship*, Captain Benjamin Ellingwood, belonging to Ebenezer Ellingwood and others, on a voyage from Salem for Surinam, laden with fish and lumber was taken by the letter of marque *Tom*, December 28, 1777, and sent into Liverpool.

GENERAL WAYNE

Brigantine *General Wayne*, 90 tons, 8 guns, 25 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Samuel Page of Salem, February 3, 1780, Richard Quatermass commissioned captain. (Revolutionary Rolls, xl. 87.)

Brigantine, *Gen. Wayne*. John Leach of Boston commissioned master, John Bickford 1st mate, James Buckman 2nd mate, Francis Thompson boatswain, James Parker gunner, John Batchelder mariner. All, except Captain Leach, from Beverly. (Revolutionary Rolls, xl. 88.) The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury of September 9, 1780, reports brigantine *Gen. Wayne* taken by H. B. M. ship *Intrepid*.

HAMPDEN

Brigantine *Hampden*, 120 tons, 14 four-pounders, 120 men. Privateer. On petition of George Cabot and others, July 5, 1777, Benjamin Warren commissioned commander.

Bond of Jonathan Ingersoll, commander of brigantine *Hampden*, George Cabot as surety, William Bartlett 1st lieutenant, November 1, 1777. (Revolutionary Rolls, vi. 103.)

The Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1778, xlviii. 189, reports the *Hampden* rebel privateer 12 guns, 64 men, taken by the *Seaford*, and carried into Dominica.

HAWKE

Schooner *Hawke*, 50 tons, 6 guns, 15 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Thomas Davis, of Beverly, and Ephriam Spooner, November 1. 1779, William Holland commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 1.)

HECTOR

Brigantine *Hector*, 150 tons, 8 guns, 17 men. Letter of marque. Petition of George Cabot for Joseph Lee, Andrew Cabot and William Bartlett, March 17, 1777, Zachariah Burchinore commissioned master.

The *Hector* had sailed before for the Cabots under the name of the *Union*.

HOPE

Brigantine *Hope*, 60 tons, 6 guns, 35 men. Privateer. Petition of Herbert Woodberry, May 28, 1782, Herbert Woodberry commissioned commander. Captured by English privateer *Prince Edward*, September 25, 1782, but retaken by the crew. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 673.)

HOPEWELL

Schooner *Hopewell*, 25 tons, 10 swivel guns, 40 men. Privateer. Petition of William Homans and others of Beverly, July 26, 1782, Cornelius Dunham commissioned commander. March 26, 1783, same petitioners, Martin Brewster commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 209.)

JUNIUS BRUTUS

Ship *Junius Brutus*, 20 six-pounders, 120 men. Privateer. On petition of Joshua Ward and Henry Rust of Salem, John Leach commissioned commander, Benjamin Moses 1st lieutenant, William Carleton 2nd lieutenant, Daniel Adams master. Names of Beverly men in the crew, Jack Ellis, Isaac Cornish, James Black, Robert Remond, John Groce, and Absalom Goodrich. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 168.)

Ship *Junius Brutus*, 260 tons, 20 six and 9-pounders, 120 men. Privateer. On petition of Josiah Orne and others of Salem, August 23, 1780, John Brooks commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 260.)

Ship *Junius Brutus*, 200 tons, 20 guns, 120 men. Privateer. Petition of Nathan Goodale of Salem, Nathaniel Brookhouse commissioned commander, October 27, 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 41.)

Ship *Junius Brutus*, same tonnage and force. Privateer. On petition of Henry Rust and others of Salem, John Brooks commissioned commander June 19, 1782. Bond signed by Andrew Cabot and Henry Rust. The *Junius Brutus* was taken by an English cruizer in 1782 and carried into Newfoundland. October 17, 1782, a cartel arrived in Salem bringing the crew of the *Junius Brutus*. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 175.)

LYON

Ship *Lyon*, 400 tons, 26 nine-pounders, 90 men. Letter of marque. Petition of A. & J. Cabot, William Tuck commissioned master, March 6, 1782. The *Lyon* was an English built ship, prize to the *Ranger*, bought by Mr. Cabot to serve as a mast ship. She sailed May 6, 1782, and was captured the same day by the English frigate *Blonde*.

MARS

Brigantine *Mars* of unknown tonnage and armament, Captain Joshua Ellingwood. "Petition of Mark Lafitte, Native of France, at present Resident in Salem, Humbly Showeth that the said Petitioner is owner of the Brigantine *Mars*, Joshua Ellingwood, Master, laying in Beverly, which Brigantine was almost ready for the Sea when an Embargo took place." Also a petition of

Jean François Greste St. Firmin, that he had come to Salem on business two months before, was part owner of the cargo of the *Mars* and was anxious to return to his home in the Island of High Hispaniola, whither the brigantine was bound. To these petitions were affixed these certificates:

Beverly, Aug. 9, 1779,

We certify whom it may concern that the Brigantine *Mars*, commanded by Capt. Joshua Ellingwood, now Lying in the harbour of Beverly is Loaded wit Alewives, Menhaden and lumber And That There is no Cod or other Dried fish on board Said Brigantine nor other provisions more than is necessary for her present voyage.

NATHANIEL BATCHELDER, Jr.

NATHAN LEACH

Council Chamber, Aug. 9, 1779, Ordered that the Naval Officer for the Port of Salem be and hereby is Directed to clear out the Brigantine *Mars*, Letter of Marque, now lying in the harbour of Beverly, bound to Hispaniola, when the Embargo on Vessels shall expire, the Embargo on provisions notwithstanding.

MOHOCK

Ship *Mohock*, 262 tons, 20 six-pounders, 130 men. Privateer. On petition of William Leach, William Bartlett and others of Beverly, Elias Smith commissioned commander, November 8, 1781. The *Mohock* was a new ship built especially for a privateer. On September 6, 1782, John Carnes succeeded Captain Smith and the *Mohock* was taken fourteen days out by H. B. M. ship *Enterprise* and sent into New York.

NEPTUNE

Brigantine *Neptune*, 115 tons, 14 guns, 80 men. Privateer. This vessel was partly owned in Beverly in 1779, but who her owners were is uncertain. The petition for her commission, dated August 5, 1779, was signed by George Dodge of Salem, and as he was associated with Andrew Cabot in many enterprises it is probable that the latter was largely interested. The *Neptune* was commanded by John Ashton, with John Marsh as lieutenant, both of Beverly.

NEW ADVENTURE

Brig *New Adventure*, 14 guns, 50 men. Privateer. Petition of William Orne and John Leach of Salem, John Neal, Jr., commissioned commander, Jacob Oliver 1st lieutenant, Edward Stanly 2nd lieutenant. A number of American privateers were dogging the Quebec fleet and nine of them were taken and carried into Halifax, and some to St. John's, Newfoundland. Brig *New Adventure*, Captain Neal of Beverly. (New York Mercury, September 21, 1781.) The brig *New Adventure* is usually credited to Salem, the only authority for calling it a Beverly vessel is the above statement of the New York Mercury.

OLIVER CROMWELL

Brigantine *Oliver Cromwell*, 162 tons, 16 guns, 130 men. Privateer. On petition of John Derby of Salem and Andrew Cabot of Beverly, William Cole commissioned commander, April 29, 1777. (Revolutionary Rolls, vii. 300.)

Brigantine *Oliver Cromwell*, 160 tons, 16 guns, 100 men. Privateer. Petition of Jonathan Ingersoll, July 10, 1778, Thomas Simmons commissioned commander, James Barr 1st lieutenant.

Ship *Oliver Cromwell*, 150 tons, 16 six-pound guns, 110 men. Privateer. On petition of Bart. Putnam and John Derby, March 29, 1779, Thomas Simmons commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 41.)

Ship *Oliver Cromwell*, 150 tons, 18 guns, 110 men. Privateer. On petition of Bart Putnam and others, August 11, 1779, James Barr commissioned commander, I. Carpenter 1st lieutenant, Samuel West 2nd lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 320.)

Ship *Oliver Cromwell*, 160 tons, 16 guns, 85 men. Privateer. On petition of Nathan Leach, William Bartlett and others of Beverly, John Bray commissioned commander, April 19, 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 371.)

The *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain Bray, while dogging the Quebec fleet was taken by a British frigate and sent into Newfoundland. On September 22, 1781, a cartel arrived at Boston from Newfoundland bringing Captain Bray and his crew.

PILGRIM

Ship *Pilgrim*, 200 tons, 16 nine-pounders, 140 men. Privateer. On petition of John and Andrew Cabot, Hugh Hill was commissioned commander, September 12, 1778, John Hooper 1st lieutenant, Benj. Moses 2nd lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 157.)

Ship *Pilgrim*, 200 tons, 18 nine-pounders, 160 men. Privateer. On petition of Andrew Cabot, Joseph Robinson commissioned commander, March 24, 1780.¹ (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 104.)

Ship *Pilgrim*, 200 tons, 18 guns, 150 men. Privateer. On petition of William Creed, in behalf of Jonathan Jackson, Joseph Lee, and J. & A. Cabot, Joseph Robinson commissioned commander, April 14, 1781. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 369.) The New York Mercury of May 16, 1782, reports American privateer *Pilgrim* prize to H. B. M. frigate *Belisarius*;² American papers of October 12, 1782, report that the privateer *Pilgrim* was chased ashore on Cape Cod by the English frigate *Chatham*.

¹ The officers and petty officers of the *Pilgrim* August 14, 1780, were as follows: Joseph Robinson, Salem, commander; Jesse Allen, Manchester, 1st lieutenant; Benjamin Warren, Salem, 2nd lieutenant; Nicholas Garven, Boston, master; George Sugden, Beverly, master's mate; John Dean, Salem, 2nd mate; J. L. Hammond, Salem, 3rd mate; Samuel Blanchard, Boston, surgeon; Nathaniel Otis, Salem, chaplain; William Curtis, master of marines; Moses Vose, John Harris, Francis Horton, Joseph Hudson, John Kelly, John Marsh, and Thomas Hogkins, all prize masters; Jonathan Glidden, Beverly, carpenter; William Foot, Salem, cooper; Joseph Johnson, Salem, doctor's mate; John Turner, gunner; James Lyons, Marblehead, sailmaker; Jonathan McDowell, boatswain; Joseph Standly and William Vose, stewards. Of the crew only two, James Elliot and Richard Allen, were Beverly men. There were ten boys, one eleven, two twelve, two thirteen and five seventeen years or younger. Most of the crew were of foreign birth.

² This report of the capture of the *Pilgrim* was probably incorrect. At all events the vessel, if captured, was not the *Pilgrim* of Beverly.

There is in existence a log kept by Dr. Josiah Bartlett while surgeon on the *Pilgrim* of Beverly from April 19, 1781, to July 23, 1782. This log will be printed in Vol. xxv. of the Publications of this Society.

RAMBLER

Ship *Rambler*, on February 18, 1777, Andrew Cabot, owner of ship *Rambler*, petitions the Council for permission to clear the *Rambler* in ballast for some neutral port in Europe, to bring back salt, woolens and naval stores. The *Rambler* probably belonged to Mr. Cabot several years prior to her commission in 1777. In 1776 the *Rambler* was at Bilbao, Spain, under command of George Cabot. In 1777 Andrew Cabot in a letter to Gardoqui & Sons, Bilbao, writes: "The *Rambler*, Capt. Simmons, which is owned by George Dodge and myself." (Massachusetts Archives, clxvi. 269.)

Ship *Rambler*, 200 tons, 14 six-pounders, 50 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot and others of Beverly, Benjamin Lovett commissioned master, October 16, 1779. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 434.)

Ship *Rambler*, same tonnage and force. Letter of marque. Petition of J. & A. Cabot, February 14, 1782, Benjamin Lovett commissioned master. The Beverly men on the *Rambler* in 1780 were Benjamin Lovett captain, and William Ober, H. Hair, Robert Haskell, Robert Stanly, Nathan Gage, John Ellingwood, and William Poland mariners. (Revolutionary Rolls, xl. 70.)

REPRISAL

Brigantine *Reprisal*, 70 tons, 8 three-pound guns, and 10 swivels and 60 men. Privateer. On petition of Job Prince and Samuel White of Boston, agents for themselves and Jacob Fowler, Andrew Cabot, John Coffin Jones and Benjamin Hichbourne, owners, John Wheelwright commissioned commander, October 3, 1776, Samuel Smallcorn 1st lieutenant, Nathaniel Thayer 2nd lieutenant, John Gregore master, Joseph Pitman steward, Stephen Johnson gunner, and John Ritchmond doctor. (Revolutionary Rolls, vii. 34.) The *Reprisal* may have been captured in 1777, as Nathaniel Thayer, her 1st lieutenant, returned on the cartel *Swift* from Halifax November 9, 1777.

RESOURCE

Ship *Resource*, 178 tons, 16 six-pounders, 30 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Thomas Woodberry, Ebenezer Parsons, and Israel Thorndike, June 10, 1780, Israel Thorndike commissioned master. (Revolutionary Rolls, xl. 64.)

List of officers and crew and share of prize money: Israel Thorndike captain, 8 shares; Richard Ober mate, 4 shares; Andrew Thorndike 2nd mate, 3 shares; Samuel Cressy master, 3 shares; Nathan French gunner, 2 shares; Francis Gordon boatswain, 2 shares; Batholemew carpenter, 2 shares; Jonathan Wooden master's mate, 1½ shares; Edward Lee master of marines, 2 shares; Dana Whipple of Ipswich, steward, 1½ shares; Joseph Whittredge of Danvers, William Eaves and Stephen Barker of Taunton, Ephriam Walton of Ipswich, Jonathan White of Boston, Jacob Thompson, Nathan Beaurigard, Edward Larcom, William Gage, Nicholas Thorndike, George Bray, — Herrick, Richard Ober, all mariners from Beverly except where noted, 1 share. There were also three boys, Ezra Hall 16, Herbert Vickory 16, and Edward Marvell 14 years of age.

Ship *Resource*, 140 tons, 10 guns and 24 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Thomas Woodberry and others, September 7, 1780, Richard Ober commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 176.)

List of officers and crew and ages September 11, 1780: Richard Ober captain, 35 years; Andrew Thorndike 1st mate, 27 years; Sam. Cressy 2nd mate, 27 years;

John Waters, 28; Andrew Ober, 18; John Woodby, 22; Jacob Woodby, 18; Andrew Woodby, 30; Thomas Woodby, 37; Ebenezer Woodby, 25; John Lovett, 27; Jacob Brown of Wenham, 28; Nathan Thorne, 18; Jacob Thompson, 18; John Savage, 27; Thomas Harris, 27; Thomas Ober, 22; David Allen, 29; Richard Ober, 24; Richard Thorne, 22; Nicholas Thorndike, 22; John Rea, 22; Joseph Ray, 24; and Andrew Woodman, 27 years of age. All of Beverly except one. (Revolutionary Rolls, xl. 66.)

The *Resouree* was taken by an English cruizer in 1780.

RETALIATION

Brigantine *Retaliation*, 70 tons, 10 guns, 9 swivels, 70 men. Privateer. On petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., September 4, 1776, Eleazer Giles commander, Thomas Stephens 1st lieutenant, John Proctor 2nd lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxv. 204.) The *Retaliation* was taken in the autumn of 1777.

REVENGE

Sloop *Revenge*, 90 tons, 12 guns, 60 men. Privateer. Petition of Miles Greenwood and Joseph Lee, May 14, 1776, Joseph White commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxiv. 356.) The sloop *Revenge* was afterwards commanded by Benjamin Warren, Edward Gibaut, and Benjamin Dean.

REVOLUTION

Ship *Revolution*, 330 tons, 20 9-pounders, 130 men. Privateer. On petition of J. & A. Cabot, March 6, 1782, Stephen Webb commissioned commander.

ROVER

Sloop *Rover*, 8 guns, 50 men. Privateer. On petition of Jacob Ashton, Joseph Sprague and others, July 17, 1776, Simon Forester commissioned captain. (Massachusetts Archives, clxv. 421.)

Sloop *Rover*, same armament. Privateer. On petition of Benjamin Goodhue for the owners, November 13, 1776, Abijah Boden was commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvi. 37.)

Sloop *Rover*, 60 tons, 8 guns and 50 men. Privateer. On petition of John Derby, Andrew Cabot and others, August 9, 1777, John Mitchell commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvii. 319.)

SALLY

Ship *Sally*, Captain John Buffinton. Andrew Cabot was part owner.

SARATOGA

Brig *Saratoga*, 120 tons, 8 guns and 30 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot, Joseph Lee and others, July 1, 1778, John Tittle commissioned master.

Brig *Saratoga*, 120 tons, 10 guns, 30 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot, November 20, 1779, Stephen Webb commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 28.)

September 4, 1780, Eleazer Giles was master of the letter of marque *Saratoga* and the list of officers and crew was as follows: Eleazer Giles master, William Ellingwood 1st mate, Benjamin Parsons of Gloucester 2nd mate, Nicholas Ober

prize master, James Hooper of Marblehead gunner, James Higgins (born in Virginia, lives in Beverly), Richard Green, Jonathan Bowls, Benjamin Roundy (Salem), Thomas Giles (Salem), John Tufts (Danvers), Ceaser and Cato Montgomery cooks, Joseph Haskell, all natives and residents of Beverly, except where noted. There were also two English prisoners, Robert Lefavour and James Mull, serving as mariners on the vessel.

On November 1, 1780, the brig *Saratoga* was reported condemned and sold at Beverly.

SCORPION

Schooner *Scorpion*, 50 tons, 14 swivel and 2 carriage guns, 40 men. Privateer. On petition of Joseph White and Miles Greenwood of Salem, November 8, 1777, Israel Thorndike commissioned commander, John Ashton 1st lieutenant. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvii. 436.)

Schooner *Scorpion*, 45 tons, 16 swivel guns, 40 men. Privateer. On petition of E. H. Derby, February 27, 1778, John Brooks commissioned commander, John Marsh 1st lieutenant.

Schooner *Scorpion*, 50 tons, 2 guns, 40 men. On petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., June 16, 1778, Benjamin Niles commissioned master. In this petition the *Scorpion* is called both letter of marque and privateer.

Schooner *Scorpion*, same armament and petitioners. Letter of marque. March 18, 1779, Benjamin Ives was commissioned master. September 20, 1779, Perry Howland was master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 25, 410.)

SCOURGE

Ship *Scourge*, 240 tons, 20 guns, 120 men. On petition of Brown & Thorndike, May 24, 1781, Timothy Parker commissioned commander. The *Scourge* was taken by an English cruiser April 22, 1782.

SEBASTIAN

Ship *Sebastian*, 150 tons, 10 guns, 30 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot, February 18, 1779, Benjamin Lovett commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 444.)

Ship *Sebastian*, same force and petitioner, September 18, 1779, Benjamin Ellingwood master. August 21, 1780, Ichabod Groves master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxx. 403.) Said to have been taken by an English cruiser in 1780.

SHAKER

Galley *Shaker*, 50 tons, 6 four-pounders, 40 men. Privateer. On petition of Job Prince, Andrew Cabot and others, May 9, 1782, Samuel Stacy commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 153.)

Ship *Shaker*, 50 tons, 6 guns, 40 men. Privateer. On petition of Brown & Thorndike, February 26, 1783, James Lovett commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 307.)

SPANISH PACKET

Ship *Spanish Packet*, 10 guns and 20 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Francis Cabot and James Jeffreys, February 18, 1782, Thomas Daling commissioned master.

STARKS

Brigantine *Starks*, 120 tons, 6 guns and 20 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot, Richard Quatermass commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxviii. 67.)

Brigantine *Starks*, 10 guns and 20 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Andrew Cabot October 16, 1779, Ezra Ober was commissioned master, Richard Ober 1st mate, Edward Foster 2nd mate, Benjamin Porter gunner, Benjamin Presson prize master, James Richerson, David Bunker, John Tuck, John Anderson, William Morgan, Robert Stanly, Osman Thorndike, William Thompson, all of Beverly; Joseph and Nathaniel Kingman of Wenham; James Dodge and Thomas Stevens of Ipswich.

STURDY BEGGAR

Schooner *Sturdy Beggar*, 90 tons, 6 guns and 20 men. Privateer. On petition of E. H. Derby, June 13, 1776, Peter Landen of Salem commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxiv. 391.)

Schooner *Sturdy Beggar*, number of guns and crew not given. Privateer. On petition of Benjamin Goodhue, August 2, 1776, Allen Hallet commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxv. 24.)

Schooner *Sturdy Beggar*, 100 tons, 8 guns and 60 men. Privateer. On petition of Benj. Goodhue and others, October 2, 1776, Edward Rowland commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxv. 308.) On February 24, 1777, the *Sturdy Beggar*, Captain Rowland, was reported taken by an English cruizer and the crew afterwards confined in Mill Prison.

Brigantine *Sturdy Beggar*, 100 tons, 10 guns and crew of unknown number. Privateer. On petition of Joshua Ward of Salem, August 20, 1777, Philip Le-favour of Marblehead commissioned commander. (Revolutionary Rolls, v. 3.) Bond of *Sturdy Beggar* signed by Benjamin Goodhue and Andrew Cabot. Whether the schooner *Sturdy Beggar* had not been taken by an English cruizer and been rigged as a brigantine, or whether this was another vessel, the writer has been unable to ascertain. The brigantine *Sturdy Beggar* is said to have been wrecked on the coast of France.

SUCCESS

Ship *Success*, Captain William Langdon. Petition of Zachariah Gage, June 16, 1777, for exchange of Captain Langdon, two mates and six sailors, of ship *Success* of Beverly, taken seven weeks before by the *Diamond* frigate. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvii. 32.)

Brig *Success*, 120 tons, 8 guns and 15 men. Letter of marque. On petition of Stephen Higginson and Francis Cabot of Salem, January 4, 1779, William Groves commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 398.)

SWALLOW

Schooner *Swallow*, 60 tons. Petition of Thomas Davis of Beverly to send the *Swallow* to Virginia for flour, January 8, 1777.

Schooner *Swallow*, John Loviet, master. Built in New England in 1750. Registered at Salem, October 22, 1750. Owned by Thomas Davis and Benjamin Fisher. (Essex Institute Historical Collections, v. 282.)

SWIFT

Brigantine *Swift*, 100 tons, 8 guns and 20 men. Letter of marque. Petition of William Homans and others, January 3, 1781, Asa Woodberry commissioned master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 324.)

Brigantine *Swift*, 100 tons, 14 guns, 70 men. Privateer. Petition of William Homans and others of Beverly, January 5, 1781, John Tittle commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 405.)

Brigantine *Swift*, 100 tons, 14 guns, 70 men. Privateer. Same petition, October 20, 1781, Israel Johnson commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxxii. 36.) The *Swift* was captured in 1782.

TERRIBLE CREATURE

Brigantine *Terrible Creature*, 16 guns, 100 men. Privateer. Petition of George and Andrew Cabot, March 9, 1778, Robert Richardson commissioned commander, Zachariah Birchmore 1st lieutenant, Nathaniel West 2nd lieutenant, John Bradford master.

TRUE AMERICAN

Schooner *True American*, 90 tons, 10 guns, 70 men. Privateer. Petition of George Dodge for Andrew Cabot, April 29, 1777, John Buffinton commissioned commander, Benjamin Chapman 1st lieutenant, John Brooks 2nd lieutenant, William Thomas master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvi. 372.)

Brigantine *True American*, 90 tons, 70 guns, 25 men. Letter of marque. Petition of Andrew Cabot, May 20, 1778, John Buffinton commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxviii. 237.)

TWO FRIENDS

Schooner *Two Friends*, 60 tons. Owned in 1782 by Andrew Cabot.

VALIANT

Schooner *Valiant*. No record of her commission in the State Archives, except list of officers and crew, June 3, 1780:

Joshua Ellingwood	Capt.	28 years of age	5 ft. 2 in. in stature	dark
Nathan Batchelder	Mate	29 " " "	5 " 6 " " "	lite
William Porter		28 " " "	5 " 5 " " "	dark
Edward Smith		20 " " "	5 " 8 " " "	lite
David Herrick		22 " " "	5 " 8 " " "	dark
Nathaniel Wallis		21 " " "	5 " 9 " " "	lite
Joshua Herriek		18 " " "	5 " " " "	lite

UNION

Brigantine *Union*, 120 tons, 6 guns, 4 swivels, 20 men. Petition of Samuel Ward of Salem, January 4, 1779, William Langdell commissioned captain. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 399.)

WARREN

Schooner *Warren*, 50 tons, 5 carriage and 10 swivel guns, 50 men. Privateer. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., and others, October 29, 1776, Israel Thorndike commissioned commander, Nicholas Ogleby 1st lieutenant, William Ryan 2nd lieutenant, John Lee master. (Massachusetts Archives, clxix. 396.)

Schooner *Warren*, 60 tons, 10 guns, 50 men. Privateer. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., April 29, 1777, Nicholas Ogleby, commissioned commander.

Schooner *Warren*, 60 tons, 10 guns, 50 men. Privateer. Petition of Josiah Batchelder, Jr., December 3, 1777, John Ravell commissioned commander, Samuel Foote 1st lieutenant. The *Warren* was taken by the *Tom*, December 27, 1777, and by the *Fanny* February 6, 1778.

WASHINGTON

Brigantine *Washington*, 90 tons, 12 guns, 80 men. Privateer. Petition of John Dyson, Thomas Davis of Beverly and Jonathan Hobby and Samuel Thwing of Boston, October 3, 1776, Elias Smith commissioned commander, James Lovett 1st lieutenant, William Tuck 2nd lieutenant, John Vickory master.¹ (Massachusetts Archives, clxv. 311.)

Brigantine *Washington*, same force and petitions, May 2, 1777, Elias Smith commissioned commander. (Massachusetts Archives, clxvi. 379.)

Brigantine *Washington*, 95 tons, 14 guns, 75 men. Privateer. Petition of Samuel Dyson and Samuel Thwing, November 8, 1777, Nicholas Ogleby commissioned commander, John Ober 1st lieutenant, William Ryan 2nd lieutenant, David Stevenson master. (In the bond the name is written "Oglisby.") (Massachusetts Archives, clxvii. 437.)

It is possible that the *Washington*, Captain Ogleby, was not the original *Washington*.

Of the seventy merchant and private armed vessels, described in the above list, it is probable that sixty were owned or controlled in Beverly and the other ten out of town. It is possible that some have been included which properly belonged to Salem, but the change of ownership in those days was so frequent, the evidence so conflicting, that it is hard to draw the line. There were undoubtedly other vessels, besides the above, sailing from Beverly, and there is reason to believe that the following vessels might be included in the list, though proof is lacking:

Schooner <i>Gen. Gates</i>	Owned in 1776 by John Gardner and partner. John Cabot, witness on the bond.
Schooner <i>Harlequin</i>	Owned in 1776 by John Gardner and partner. The <i>Harlequin</i> was the schooner <i>Sally</i> , renamed, and Andrew Cabot owned $\frac{1}{8}$ of the <i>Sally</i> .
Brig <i>Pluto</i>	Petition of Josiah Orne of Salem in 1777. Andrew Cabot, witness on the bond.
Schooner <i>Fair Lady</i>	Owned in Ipswich in 1776. William Homans, Jr., one of her owners.

¹ With the exception of John Vickory, who was probably a Marblehead man, all the officers and most of the crew were from Beverly.

Ship *Rhodes*

Owned by William Shillaber and others in 1780. The *Rhodes* sent a number of prizes into Beverly and several were sold at the Cabot wharf.

Ship *Hawk*, Ship *Neptune*, Brig *Neptune*, Schooner *Resolution*, Schooner *Batchelder*, Sloop *Gates*, Brig *Rambler*.

It is impossible to enumerate all the vessels in which Beverly capital was interested, and the above is only a partial list. Shares in vessels were reckoned in eighths and multiples of that fraction and, in absence of other kinds of investment, the inhabitants of the seaport towns bought and sold them as stocks are bought and sold to-day. Men used their shares in ships as collateral, bought and sold futures; hedged against possible losses; sold short and played the game for all it was worth, and a fascinating game it was: a hundred pounds invested might within thirty days pay back a thousand; one successful cruise might win a fortune. To be sure, the chance of loss was great, but when did that ever check the gambling spirit? Under these conditions the control of vessels passed rapidly from hand to hand. The prosperous ship-owner of to-day might be the bankrupt of to-morrow, and within six months' time the same vessel might be owned consecutively in Beverly, Salem, and Boston. This spirit of speculation or gambling also affected the officers and men of the private armed vessels. After a successful cruise many of them, like the Scotch Highlanders after a victory, gave up their positions for a time and remained ashore to squander their booty.

The history of Revolutionary privateering in the town of Beverly is, as has been said, the history of the house of Cabot. Before the war the firm of J. & A. Cabot had no great prominence in New England, though of good credit and considerable means. Beginning with small and scattered ventures in privateers, by shrewdness and natural ability they had by the end of the war accumulated great wealth and had become the most prosperous mercantile firm in the State. Andrew Cabot was a student of conditions, a good judge of men, and his partner, Joseph Lee, was an expert in ship architecture. Much of the firm's success was due to the captains commanding their vessels, and these Andrew Cabot picked with rare judgment and bound to the firm by liberal and considerate treatment. Hugh Hill, Benjamin Lovett, John Edmonds, John Buffinton, and Joseph Robinson were especial favorites of the firm and made much money for themselves and the owners.

To give a complete list of the vessels in which the firm of J. & A. Cabot were interested is impossible, but that they were part owners in the following is certain:

Brigantine	<i>Active</i>	Ship	<i>Pilgrim</i>
Ship	<i>Black Prince</i>	Ship	<i>Rambler</i>
Ship	<i>Buccanier</i>	Brigantine	<i>Reprisal</i>
Snow	<i>Cato</i>	Sloop	<i>Revenge</i>
Brig	<i>Chance</i>	Ship	<i>Revolution</i>
Ship	<i>Cicero</i>	Sloop	<i>Rover</i>
Ship	<i>Commerce</i>	Ship	<i>Sally</i>
Brigantine	<i>Defence</i>	Schooner	<i>Sally</i>
Brigantine	<i>Defence</i>	Sloop	<i>Sally</i>
Snow	<i>Diana</i>	Brig	<i>Saratoga</i>
Ship	<i>Essex</i>	Ship	<i>Sebastian</i>
Brigantine	<i>Experiment</i>	Galley	<i>Shaker</i>
Sloop	<i>Fly</i>	Ship	<i>Spanish Packet</i>
Brigantine	<i>Fortune</i>	Brigantine	<i>Starks</i>
Brigantine	<i>Hampden</i>	Schooner	<i>Sturdy Beggar</i>
Brigantine	<i>Hector</i>	Brigantine	<i>Terrible Creature</i>
Brigantine	<i>Hope</i>	Schooner	<i>True American</i>
Ship	<i>Junius Brutus</i>	Schooner	<i>Two Friends</i>
Ship	<i>Lyon</i>	Brigantine	<i>Union</i>
Ship	<i>Oliver Cromwell</i>		

The total tonnage owned in Beverly in 1780 amounted to 2844 tons, and of this J. & A. Cabot controlled more than two-thirds. The *Cicero*, *Revolution*, *Buccanier*, *Lyon*, and *Rambler* were owned almost entirely by the firm, the others merely enough to hold control. A certain amount of the tonnage of vessels sailing from Beverly was held out of town. The following list for 1780 is given in the Nathan Dane Papers:

<i>Buccanier</i>	200 tons	Owned in Salem and Boston	12/96
<i>Pilgrim</i>	235 "	" " " " "	32/96
		" " Newbury	16/96
<i>Scourge</i>	235 "	" " Salem and Boston	24/96
		" " Newbury	6/96
<i>Mohawk</i>	200 "	" " Ipswich	8/96
<i>Fortune</i>	90 "	Out of town	24/96
<i>Swift</i>	90 "	" "	24/96
<i>Sch. Two Friends</i>	60 "	" "	12/96
<i>Revolution</i>	260 "	" " Beverly	
<i>Cicero</i>	240 "	" " "	
<i>Lyon</i>	300 "	" " "	
<i>Chance</i>	100 "	" " "	

From 1781 to 1783 the loss of vessels to Beverly by capture was very great, but even then Beverly was more fortunate than her sister seaport town. On January 7, 1782, George Williams writes: "The town of Marblehead has lost all but two or three vessels. The town of Beverly is almost in the same order except John and Andrew Cabot. They own $2\frac{3}{4}$ parts of three ships in France which sent into France 4000 hogshead of sugar and several other prizes. Joseph Lee, Edward Allen and Mr. Gardner own the other $\frac{1}{4}$." Mr. Cabot was better off than George Williams gives him credit, for, besides those mentioned, he owned the *Rambler*, and during the year bought or built a new *Pilgrim* and a new *Commerce*. As soon as peace was declared he prepared to carry out a previously formed plan. A vessel not named, Captain Fearson, had already sailed for the Baltic and in the early spring of 1784 the *Commerce*, Captain Tuck, cleared for St. Petersburg. She was followed May 17, 1784, by the *Sebastian*, Captain Worsely, and the two ships arrived back at Beverly, the *Commerce* October 8, 1784, and the *Sebastian* a few days later.¹ The two voyages were not profitable, but Mr. Cabot was not discouraged, and in 1785 he writes to Gardoqui & Sons: "We have quitted the West India trade and the trade in piece goods and have built two rope walks and gone into the Russian line, importing hemp, iron and sail cloth and sell entirely for fish. We supply $\frac{1}{3}$ of the articles mentioned for Beverly, Salem, Gloucester, Manchester and Marblehead."

With the coming of peace, trade reasserted itself. To one who reads over the entries and clearances of the port of Salem from April 4, 1783, when Captain Derby in the *Astrea* brought the first printed copy of the declaration of cessation of arms, it seems as though all the vessels lost during the seven years of war had sprung to life and assumed a peaceful guise. Vessels with the same old names, often with the same captain, cleared from port as fast as they could be fitted out. Asa Woodberry in the *Swallow* and Robert Haskell

¹ "Elsinore May 27, 1783. Yesterday arrived the first commercial ship which has appeared in our seas. She came from Boston bound for Riga" (Salem Gazette, August 1, 1783). As Capt. Fearson in the *Buccanier* sailed from France for the Baltic as soon as peace was declared, it is possible that this is the vessel meant and that Andrew Cabot had the honor of first showing our flag in those waters. In 1784 the *Commerce*, Capt. Tuck, reached St. Petersburg before the *Light Horse* and beat her on the return voyage.

in the *Tryal* were among the earliest. May 16th Joshua Ellingwood in the *Industry* cleared for Guadaloupe, and a few days later Ezra Ober returned from France in the *Cicero*. June 16th Andrew Thorndike sailed for Hispaniola in the *Active*, and during the year we see Captain Tuck in the *Commerce*, Benjamin Lovett in the *Rambler*, John Carnes in the *Sebastian*, Benjamin Ives in the *Volant*, Richard Ober in the *Jane*, John Tittle in the *Hector*, James Lovett in the *Leopard*, and Isaac Ray in the *Chance*.

In conclusion, it may be doubted whether privateering, from a business point of view, was profitable to our Massachusetts seaport towns. A few men like Andrew Cabot and Hasket Derby made great fortunes, but the majority lost all they had. Still warfare of any kind is an economic loss, and damage to the enemy a necessary part of warfare, and in this sense privateering was a success.

APPENDIX

Here is given an alphabetical list of officers on Beverly privateers and letters of marque vessels, their residences and rank held on any vessel during the war, also date of commissions.

Adams, Daniel Beverly Salem	1st Lieut. State brigantine <i>Independence</i> ,	
	Capt. Samson	Sept. 19, 1776
	1st Lieut. State brigantine <i>Freedom</i> ,	
	Capt. John Clouston	Feb. 10, 1777
	Captain L. M. ¹ sloop <i>Driver</i>	Sept. 1, 1779
	Commander privateer schooner <i>Lively</i>	Apr. 22, 1782
Allen, Jesse Manchester	Captain L. M. schooner, name not given	Nov. 18, 1782
	Commander privateer schooner <i>Hawk</i>	Dec. 3, 1782
	1st Lieut. privateer brigantine <i>Franklin</i> ,	
	Capt. John Leach	Oct. 15, 1778
	1st Lieut. privateer ship <i>Pilgrim</i> ,	
	Capt. Joseph Robinson	Aug. 14, 1782
Ashton, John Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Scorpion</i> ,	
	Capt. Israel Thorndike	Nov. 7, 1777
	Commander privateer schooner <i>Hampden</i>	July 14, 1778
	Commander privateer brigantine <i>Nep- tune</i>	Aug. 5, 1779
Bacon, William Salem	Surgeon privateer ship <i>Franklin</i> ,	
	Capt. John Turner	Dec. 2, 1780
Barr, James Salem	1st Lieut. privateer ship <i>Oliver Cromwell</i> ,	
	Capt. Thomas Simmons	July 8, 1778

¹ The letters "L.M." indicate "Letter of marque."

	Commander privateer sloop <i>Oliver Cromwell</i>	Aug. 11, 1779
	Commander privateer ship <i>Oliver Cromwell</i>	Aug. 16, 1779
	Commander privateer ship <i>Rover</i>	May 28, 1781
	Commander privateer brigantine <i>Montgomery</i>	June 20, 1782
Bartlett, John Beverly?	2nd Lieut. privateer sloop <i>Satisfaction</i>	Nov. 4, 1776
	Commander privateer brigantine <i>Hampden</i>	Dec. 1, 1777
Bartlett, William Beverly?	1st Lieut. privateer brigantine <i>Hampden</i> , Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll	Nov. 1, 1777
Batchelder, Nathan Beverly	1st Mate L. M. schooner <i>Valiant</i> , Capt. Joshua Ellingwood	June 3, 1780
Bickford, Benj. Beverly	1st Mate L. M. snow <i>Diana</i> , Capt. William Herrick	Sept. 23, 1780
	Captain L. M. ship <i>Daniel</i>	Apr. 1782
Bickford, John Beverly	1st Mate L. M. ship <i>Cornwall</i> , Capt. John Edmonds	Jan. 15, 1778
	1st Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Gen. Wayne</i> , Capt. John Leach	June 17, 1780
Blanchard, Samuel Boston	Surgeon privateer ship <i>Vengeance</i> , Capt. Thomas Thomas	June 27, 1779
	Surgeon privateer ship <i>Pilgrim</i> , Capt. Joseph Robinson	Aug. 2, 1780
Boardman, John	2nd Lieut. privateer brig <i>Defence</i> , Capt. John Edmonds	July 6, 1779
Bowman (Bourman), Francis Salem	Captain L. M. sloop <i>Independence</i>	Jan. 1, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer ship <i>Black Prince</i> , Capt. Elias Smith	June 23, 1778
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Fortune</i>	June 28, 1779
Bradford, John Boston	Sailing master privateer brigantine <i>Terrible Creature</i> , Capt. Robert Richardson	Mar. 9, 1778
Bray, John Marblehead Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>True Blue</i> , Capt. Richard Stiles	Apr. 29, 1777
	1st Lieut. State brigantine <i>Tyrannicide</i> , Capt. Jonathan Harraden	Sept. 15, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer ship <i>Franklin</i> , Capt. John Turner	Dec. 2, 1780
	1st Lieut. privateer brigantine <i>Gen. Pickering</i>	Sept. 30, 1778
	Captain privateer ship <i>Oliver Cromwell</i>	Apr. 19, 1781
Brazil, James Beverly?	1st Lieut. L. M. brigantine <i>Union</i> , Capt. William Langdell	Jan. 4, 1779

Brewster, Martin Cape Cod?	Captain privateer schooner <i>Hopewell</i>	Oct. 21, 1782
Brookhouse, Nathaniel Salem	Captain L. M. schooner <i>Tyger</i> Captain privateer ship <i>Junius Brutus</i> Captain privateer brigantine <i>Lively</i>	Dec. 11, 1778 Oct. 26, 1781 Mar. 8, 1783
Brooks, John Salem	2nd Lieut. privateer schooner <i>True American</i> , Capt. John Buffinton Captain privateer schooner <i>Scorpion</i> Captain privateer ship <i>Junius Brutus</i> Captain privateer ship <i>Junius Brutus</i>	Apr. 29, 1777 Feb. 28, 1778 Aug. 23, 1780 Jan. 15, 1782
Brown, Thomas	1st Lieut. privateer ship <i>Oliver Cromwell</i> , Capt. John Bray	Apr. 18, 1781
Buckman, James Beverly	2nd Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Gen. Wayne</i> , Capt. John Leach	June 17, 1780
Buffinton, John Salem	Captain L. of M. ship <i>Sally</i> Captain privateer brig <i>True American</i> Captain privateer ship <i>Marquis LaFayette</i>	May 3, 1777 May 20, 1778 Mar. 16, 1782
Burchmore, Zachariah Beverly?	Captain brigantine <i>Union</i> Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Hector</i> 1st Lieut. privateer brigantine <i>Terrible Creature</i>	Dec. 1776 Mar. 27, 1777 Mar. 9, 1778
Carnes, John Beverly	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Lyön</i> Captain privateer ship <i>Hector</i> Captain privateer brigantine <i>Gen. Lincoln</i> Captain privateer brigantine <i>Montgomery</i> Captain privateer ship <i>Porus</i> Captain privateer ship <i>Mohock</i>	June 9, 1778 June 22, 1779 Aug. 31, 1779 Sept. 12, 1780 June 7, 1781 Sept. 6, 1782
Carpenter, J.	1st Lieut. privateer ship <i>Oliver Cromwell</i> , Capt. James Barr	Aug. 16, 1779
Carwick (Carrack), John Beverly	1st Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Defence</i> , Capt. John Edmonds	Mar. 22, 1780
Cathcart, John Salem	1st Lieut. State brigantine <i>Tryannicide</i> , Capt. Allen Hallet Captain State brigantine <i>Tryannicide</i> Captain privateer ship <i>Essex</i> Captain privateer ship <i>Essex</i> Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Tartar</i> Captain privateer ship <i>Tartar</i>	Jan. 4, 1779 May 4, 1779 May 6, 1780 Apr. 14, 1781 Mar. 1, 1782 Jan. 8, 1783
Chapman, Benj. Salem	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>True American</i> , Capt. John Buffinton	Apr. 29, 1777

	Captain privateer schooner <i>Viper</i>	Apr. 14, 1778
	1st Lieut. privateer ship <i>Jack</i> , Capt. Nathan Brown	July 1, 1780
Cole, William Marblehead	Captain privateer schooner <i>True Blue</i>	Aug. 29, 1776
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Oliver Cromwell</i>	Apr. 29, 1777
	Captain privateer ship <i>Brutus</i>	July 10, 1781
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Franklin</i>	Apr. 20, 1778
Connolly, Thomas Salem		
Cressy, Samuel Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Hope</i> , Capt. William Woodberry	Oct. 13, 1778
	Sailing master L. M. ship <i>Resource</i> , Capt. Israel Thorndike	June 21, 1780
	2nd Mate L. M. ship <i>Resource</i> , Capt. Richard Ober	Sept. 7, 1780
	Captain L. M. ship <i>Spanish Packet</i>	Feb. 25, 1782
Dalling, Thomas Beverly		
Devol, Silas	1st Lieut. privateer ship <i>Franklin</i> , Capt. Allen Hallet	June 29, 1781
	Captain privateer ship <i>Franklin</i>	Dec. 16, 1781
	Captain privateer schooner <i>Hopewell</i>	July 26, 1782
Dunham, Cornelius Beverly?		
Edmonds, John Beverly	Captain privateer ship <i>Cornwall</i>	Jan. 17, 1778
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Defence</i>	July 1, 1779
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Defence</i>	Mar. 24, 1780
Ellingwood, Benj. Beverly	Captain L. M. schooner <i>Friendship</i>	Feb. 1, 1778
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Sebastian</i>	Sept. 18, 1779
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Active</i>	May 6, 1780
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Active</i>	July 6, 1780
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Ceres</i>	June 19, 1783
Ellingwood, Joshua Beverly	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Mars</i>	Aug. 10, 1779
	Captain L. M. schooner <i>Valiant</i>	June 3, 1780
	Captain schooner <i>Industry</i>	May 16, 1783
Ellingwood, William Beverly	1st Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Saratoga</i> , Capt. Eleazer Giles	Sept. 4, 1780
Elliot, Simon	1st Lieut. <i>Marquis La Fayette</i>	1779
Fearson, Jesse Salem	Captain privateer schooner <i>Swett</i>	Aug. 19, 1779
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Fortune</i>	Apr. 27, 1780
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Cato</i>	May 28, 1781
	Captain privateer ship <i>Buccanier</i>	Mar. 27, 1782
Fearson, John Salem	1st Lieut. privateer brig <i>Eagle</i> , Capt. William Groves	June 17, 1780
Foot, Samuel	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Warren</i> , Capt. John Ravell	Dec. 3, 1777
Fisher, Joshua Beverly	Surgeon on a Marblehead vessel	

Forrester, Simon Salem	Captain privateer sloop <i>Rover</i>	July 17, 1776
	Captain privateer ship <i>Centurion</i>	Jan. 4, 1780
	Captain privateer ship <i>Jason</i>	June 8, 1780
	Captain privateer ship <i>Patty</i>	Sept. 29, 1781
	Captain privateer ship <i>Exchange</i>	Feb. 12, 1782
Foster, Edward Beverly	2nd Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Starks</i> , Capt. Ezra Ober	Sept. 20, 1779
	2nd Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Fanny</i> , Capt. Herbert Woodberry	Aug. 22, 1780
Foster, Jonathan Beverly	1st Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Freedom</i> , Capt. Benj. Ober	Sept. 11, 1780
Foster, Samuel Beverly	Captain L. M. sloop <i>Fish Hawk</i>	Nov. 30, 1779
	Captain privateer <i>Fish Hawk</i>	May 2, 1781
	Captain privateer schooner <i>Surprise</i>	Aug. 23, 1781
	Captain privateer schooner <i>Penguin</i>	May 7, 1782
Gage, William Beverly	2nd Mate L. M. snow <i>Diana</i> , Capt. William Herrick	Sept. 19, 1780
Gage, Zachariah Beverly	Captain L. M. brig <i>Chance</i>	1781
Giles, Eleazer Beverly	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Retaliation</i>	Sept. 4, 1776
	Captain L. M. snow <i>Cato</i>	Sept. 18, 1779
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Saratoga</i>	Sept. 4, 1780
Groves, Ichabod Beverly	Captain L. M. ship <i>Sebastian</i>	Aug. 21, 1780
Groves, William Beverly	Captain privateer schooner <i>Blackbird</i>	Aug. 6, 1777
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Success</i>	Jan. 4, 1779
	Captain L. M. sloop <i>Fish Hawk</i>	Sept. 1, 1779
	Captain L. M. brig <i>Eagle</i>	June 17, 1780
Hacker, Hoystead Providence, R. I.	Captain privateer ship <i>Buccanier</i>	Aug. 3, 1781
Hallet, John Allen Boston	Captain privateer schooner <i>Sturdy</i> <i>Beggar</i>	Aug. 2, 1776
	Captain L. M. State sloop <i>Republic</i>	Dec. 5, 1776
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Starks</i>	Sept. 12, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>America</i>	Dec. 24, 1777
	Captain State brigantine <i>Tryannicide</i>	July 10, 1778
	Captain State brig <i>Active</i>	Apr. 30, 1779
	Captain privateer brig <i>Phoenix</i>	Feb. 16, 1780
	Captain L. M. ship <i>Tartar</i>	Aug. 3, 1780
	Captain privateer ship <i>Franklin</i>	June 22, 1781
Hammond, John Beverly	Captain L. M. brig <i>Minerva</i>	Feb. 23, 1782
Hammond, J. L. Beverly? Salem	1st Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Active</i> , Capt. Benj. Ellingwood	July 6, 1780
	3rd Mate privateer ship <i>Pilgrim</i> , Capt. Joseph Robinson	Aug. 2, 1780

Harris, John Beverly	2nd Lieut. privateer brig <i>Eagle</i>	June 17, 1780
Haskell, Robert Beverly	Captain L. M. sloop <i>Driver</i> Captain L. M. sloop <i>Betty</i>	1779 Sept. 19, 1780
Hawkins, Abraham Boston	1st Lieut. privateer ship <i>Buccanier</i> , Capt. Hoystead Hacker	Aug. 3, 1781
Herrick, William Beverly	1st Lieut. State brigantine <i>Despatch</i> , Capt. Stephen Cleveland	1776 Sept. 19, 1780
Hill, Hugh Beverly	Captain privateer ship <i>Pilgrim</i> Captain L. M. ship <i>Cicero</i>	Sept. 12, 1778 Jan. 15, 1782
Hilton, Henry Beverly	1st Mate schooner <i>Alert</i> , Capt. Jacob Oliver	1779
Holland, William Beverly	Captain privateer schooner <i>Hope</i> Captain privateer schooner <i>Hawk</i>	1777 Nov. 1, 1779
Hooper, John Marblehead	2nd Lieut. privateer schooner <i>True Blue</i> , Capt. William Cole 2nd Lieut. State brigantine <i>Freedom</i> , Capt. John Clouston	Aug. 29, 1776 Feb. 19, 1777
Howland, Perry Beverly?	1st Lieut. privateer ship <i>Pilgrim</i> Captain privateer schooner <i>Scorpion</i>	Sept. 12, 1778 Sept. 28, 1779
Ives, Benj. Beverly	Captain privateer schooner <i>Scorpion</i> Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Fortune</i> Lieut. privateer brigantine <i>Favorite</i> , Capt. William Patterson	Mar. 18, 1779 July 3, 1781 No date
James, William Beverly	Captain privateer schooner <i>Adventure</i> Captain privateer schooner <i>Lee</i>	May 16, 1780 Sept. 6, 1782
Johnson, Israel Beverly	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Fox</i> Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Swift</i> Captain L. M. ship <i>Fox</i>	July 18, 1780 Oct. 20, 1781 May 9, 1782
Knowlton, Joseph Beverly	Captain privateer schooner <i>Dolphin</i>	July 14, 1781
Lakeman, Richard Ipswich	Captain L. M. schooner <i>Diana</i>	Aug. 20, 1781
Langdell, William Beverly	Captain L. M. ship <i>Content</i> Captain privateer <i>Centipede</i> Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Union</i>	1777 May 14, 1778 Jan. 23, 1779
Langden, William ¹ ?	Captain L. M. ship <i>Success</i> Captain privateer schooner <i>Cent-Pied</i>	May 1777 Dec. 23, 1777
Larcum, Henry Beverly	1st Mate privateer schooner <i>Scorpion</i> , Capt. Benj. Ives	June 16, 1778

¹ There is some confusion between the names Langdell and Langden which the writer has been unable to unravel.

Leach, John Beverly	Captain privateer schooner <i>Dolphin</i>	Sept. 28, 1776
	Captain privateer sloop <i>Trenton</i>	Apr. 24, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Gen. Wayne</i>	June 17, 1780
	Captain L. M. brig <i>Fanny</i>	1781
Leach, John Salem	Captain privateer schooner <i>Swett</i>	Sept. 9, 1778
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Lively</i>	Dec. 20, 1779
	Captain privateer ship <i>Junius Brutus</i>	May 23, 1780
Leach, John Jr. ¹	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Franklin</i>	Oct. 16, 1778
	Captain L. M. <i>St. Mary's Packet</i>	Aug. 7, 1782
Leach, Nathan	Captain L. M. schooner <i>Valiant</i>	
Lee, John	Sailing master privateer schooner <i>Warren</i> ,	
	Capt. Israel Thorndike	Oct. 29, 1776
	2nd Lieut. schooner <i>Warren</i> ,	
	Capt. Israel Thorndike	Apr. 29, 1777
Lefavour, Philip Marblehead	Captain privateer schooner <i>Sturdy</i>	
	<i>Beggar</i>	Aug. 20, 1777
Lovett, Benj. Beverly	Sailing master State brig <i>Tyrannicide</i> ,	
	Capt. Jonathan Harraden	Feb. 22, 1777
	Captain L. M. ship <i>Sebastian</i>	Feb. 18, 1779
	Captain L. M. ship <i>Rambler</i>	Oct. 16, 1779
Lovett, James Beverly	Captain L. M. ship <i>Rambler</i>	Mar. 6, 1782
	1st Lieut. privateer brig <i>Washington</i> ,	
	Capt. Elias Smith	Oct. 3, 1776
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship <i>Essex</i> ,	
Manly, John Beverly Marblehead	Capt. John Catheart	June 12, 1780
	Captain privateer ship <i>Shaker</i>	Feb. 26, 1783
	Captain privateer schooner <i>Hancock</i>	Jan. 1, 1776
	Captain Continental frigate <i>Hancock</i>	Apr. 17, 1776
Marsh, John Beverly	Captain privateer ship <i>Cumberland</i>	Dec. 19, 1778
	Captain privateer ship <i>Jason</i>	June 2, 1779
	Captain frigate <i>Hague</i>	Sept. 11, 1782
	2nd Mate State brig <i>Tyrannicide</i> ,	
Minot, James Boston	Capt. Jonathan Harraden	Feb. 24, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Scorpion</i> ,	
	Capt. John Brooks	Feb. 25, 1778
	Captain privateer sloop <i>Fly</i>	Aug. 29, 1778
Morgan, William Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer brigantine <i>Neptune</i> ,	
	Capt. John Ashton	Aug. 5, 1779
	Surgeon privateer ship <i>Franklin</i> ,	
	Capt. Allen Hallet	June 26, 1781
Morgan, William Beverly	Gunner privateer schooner <i>Resolution</i> ,	
	Capt. Samuel Trask	Oct. 11, 1780
	Master privateer schooner <i>Resolution</i> ,	
	Capt. Amos Potter	Apr. 5, 1781
	Captain privateer schooner <i>Resolution</i>	May 18, 1781

¹ Boston, Beverly, and Salem are all given as the residence of a John Leach, and it is difficult to distinguish between them.

Moses, Benj. Salem	Master State brig <i>Tyrannicide</i> , Capt. John Fiske	Oct. 26, 1776
	2nd Lieut. State brigantine <i>Tyrannicide</i> , Capt. Jonathan Harraden	Mar. 10, 1777
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship <i>Pilgrim</i> , Capt. Hugh Hill	Sept. 12, 1778
Newman, Robert	Captain L. M. schooner <i>Adventure</i>	Sept. 8, 1779
Niles, Benj.	Captain privateer schooner <i>Scorpion</i>	June 16, 1778
Ober, Benj. Beverly	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Freedom</i> Captain L. M. schooner <i>Hawk</i>	Sept. 7, 1780
Ober, Ezra Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer sloop <i>Fly</i> , Capt. John Marsh	Aug. 29, 1778
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Starks</i>	Sept. 20, 1779
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Starks</i>	July 14, 1780
Ober, Israel Beverly	Captain L. M. sloop <i>Fish Hawk</i>	Sept. 1, 1780
Obeir, Israel F. ?	Captain L. M. sloop <i>Little Vincent</i>	Dec. 4, 1781
Ober, James Beverly	2nd Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Freedom</i> Capt. Benjamin Ober	Sept. 17, 1781
Ober, John Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer brig <i>Washington</i> , Capt. Ogilby	May 8, 1777
Ober, Nathaniel Beverly	1st Mate L. M. sloop <i>Fish Hawk</i> , Capt. Samuel Foster	Nov. 20, 1777
Ober, Nicholas	Prize Master brig <i>Saratoga</i> , Capt. Eleazer Giles	Sept. 4, 1780
Ober, Richard Beverly	Captain privateer snow <i>Fanny</i> 1st Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Starks</i> , Capt. Ezra Ober	Jan. 15, 1778 Sept. 20, 1779
	1st Mate L. M. ship <i>Resource</i> , Capt. Israel Thorndike	June 12, 1780
	Captain ship <i>Resource</i>	Sept. 7, 1780
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Fortune</i>	Nov. 7, 1781
Ober, William Beverly	1st Mate L. M. ship <i>Rambler</i> , Capt. Benjamin Lovett	1780
Ogliby (Ogleeby), Nicholas Marblehead	2nd Lieut. State schooner <i>Hancock</i> , Capt. John Manly	Jan. 1, 1776
	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Warren</i> , Capt. Israel Thorndike	Oct. 30, 1776
	Captain privateer schooner <i>Warren</i>	Apr. 30, 1777
	Captain privateer brig <i>Washington</i>	Nov. 18, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Bellona</i>	Jan. 2, 1778
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Bunker Hill</i>	Nov. 8, 1778
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship <i>Thomas</i> , Capt. Richard Cowell	Sept. 14, 1780

Oliver, Jacob Beverly	Captain privateer schooner <i>Hammond</i>	Dec. 10, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer sloop <i>Gates</i>	Jan. 23, 1778
	1st Lieut. privateer sloop <i>Bowdoin</i>	July 2, 1778
	Captain privateer schooner <i>Alert</i>	1779
	Master ship <i>Eagle</i> , Capt. William Groves	June 17, 1780
Parker, Timothy Norwich, Conn.	1st Lieut. brig <i>New Adventure</i> ,	
	Capt. John Neil	1781
Parsons, Thomas Gloucester	Captain privateer ship <i>Scourge</i>	May 26, 1781
Patterson, John Beverly	1st Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Saratoga</i> ,	
	Capt. Eleazer Giles	Sept. 4, 1780
Payne (Pain), Edward English	Captain privateer schooner <i>Spring Bird</i>	Mar. 30, 1779
	Captain privateer brig <i>Spit-Fire</i>	Apr. 4, 1780
	Captain privateer brig <i>Active</i>	Apr. 9, 1781
Porter, John Beverly or Danvers	1st Mate L. M. ship <i>Count D'Estaing</i> ,	
	Capt. Elias Smith	Aug. 22, 1780
Potter, Abijah Boston	Captain L. M. brig <i>Experiment</i>	Mar. 30, 1779
	Captain privateer schooner <i>Fox</i>	Nov. 15, 1782
Potter, Amos Boston	1st Lieut. privateer ship <i>Franklin</i> ,	
	Capt. Allen Hallet	June 26, 1781
Proctor, John Marblehead	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Resolution</i> ,	
	Capt. Samuel Trask	Oct. 11, 1780
	Captain privateer schooner <i>Resolution</i>	Mar. 31, 1781
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Prospect</i>	Oct. 4, 1781
	Captain privateer lugger <i>Dreadnought</i>	May 11, 1782
Quatermass, Richard Beverly	Captain privateer sloop <i>Revenge</i>	Feb. 4, 1783
	2nd Lieut. privateer brig <i>Retaliation</i> ,	
	Capt. Eleazer Giles	Sept. 4, 1776
	Sailing master State brigantine <i>Freedom</i> ,	
Ravell, John Salem	Capt. John Clouston	Feb. 4, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer brig <i>Rambler</i>	Sept. 2, 1779
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Starks</i>	Dec. 8, 1777
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Starks</i>	Oct. 6, 1778
Richardson, Robert Salem	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Gen. Wayne</i>	Feb. 3, 1780
	Captain L. M. schooner <i>Success</i>	May 6, 1779
Richerson, Philip Beverly	Captain privateer schooner <i>Warren</i>	Dec. 3, 1777
	Captain privateer sloop <i>Morning Star</i>	Sept. 25, 1780
	Captain L. M. schooner <i>Polly</i>	Dec. 11, 1782
Richardson, Robert Salem	Captain privateer <i>Terrible Creature</i>	Mar. 9, 1778
Richerson, Philip Beverly	Sailing master privateer brig <i>Eagle</i> ,	
	Capt. William Groves	June 17, 1780

Robinson, Joseph Salem	Master's mate State brigantine <i>Massachusetts</i> ,	
	Capt. John Fisk	Mar. 17, 1777
	Master State brigantine <i>Massachusetts</i> ,	
	Capt. John Fisk	July 31, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Pluto</i>	Nov. 13, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Franklin</i>	Mar. 30, 1779
	Captain privateer ship <i>Pilgrim</i>	Aug. 2, 1780
	Captain privateer ship <i>Pilgrim</i>	Aug. 14, 1781
Ryan, William Marblehead	Captain privateer ship <i>Pilgrim</i>	Nov. 20, 1781
	2nd Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Warren</i> ,	
	Capt. Israel Thorndike	Oct. 29, 1776
	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Warren</i> ,	
Sellman, J. Marblehead	Capt. Nicholas Ogleeby	Apr. 29, 1777
	1st Lieut. brig <i>Washington</i> ,	
	Capt. Nicholas Ogleeby	Nov. 18, 1777
Simmons, Thomas Salem	2nd Lieut. privateer brig <i>Franklin</i> ,	
	Capt. Joseph Robinson	Apr. 20, 1780
Smith, Elias Beverly	Captain privateer schooner <i>Lively</i>	Dec. 23, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Oliver Cromwell</i>	July 10, 1778
	Captain privateer ship <i>Oliver Cromwell</i>	Mar. 29, 1779
	Captain privateer ship <i>Grand Turk</i>	June 13, 1781
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Ranger</i>	Oct. 9, 1781
Smith, Ezra Beverly	Captain privateer brig <i>Washington</i>	Oct. 3, 1776
	Captain privateer ship <i>Black Prince</i>	June 17, 1778
	Captain L. M. ship <i>Count D'Estaing</i>	Aug. 22, 1780
	Captain privateer ship <i>Mohock</i>	Nov. 20, 1781
Stephenson, David Marblehead	2nd Mate L. M. schooner <i>Alert</i> ,	
	Capt. Jacob Oliver	1779
Stephens, Thomas Beverly	Master privateer schooner <i>Warren</i> ,	
	Capt. Nicholas Ogleeby	Apr. 29, 1777
	Master privateer brig <i>Washington</i> ,	
	Capt. Nicholas Ogleeby	Nov. 18, 1777
	1st Lieut. privateer brigantine <i>Bellona</i>	Jan. 1, 1778
Stevens, John Marblehead	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Siren</i>	July 13, 1781
	1st Lieut. privateer brig <i>Retaliation</i> ,	
	Capt. Eleazer Giles	Sept. 4, 1776
Stone, Samuel Beverly	Captain privateer sloop <i>Bowdoin</i>	July 2, 1778
	2nd Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Langdon</i> ,	
	Capt. Jacob Oliver	Aug. 24, 1776
	Captain privateer sloop <i>Satisfaction</i>	Nov. 9, 1776
Sugden, George Beverly	Captain privateer brig <i>Rambler</i>	Sept. 2, 1779
	1st Mate L. M. brigantine <i>Fanny</i> ,	
Sugden, George Beverly	Capt. Herbert Woodberry	Aug. 22, 1780
	Master's mate privateer ship <i>Pilgrim</i> ,	
Sugden, George Beverly	Capt. Joseph Robinson	Aug. 14, 1780

Swasey (Swazy), Nathaniel Salem or Ipswich	2nd Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Success</i> , Capt. Philip trask	Sept. 3, 1778
	1st Lieut. privateer brig <i>Defence</i> , Capt. John Edmonds	July 6, 1779
	Captain privateer brig <i>Active</i>	Dec. 16, 1780
Thomas, William ?	Master L. M. schooner <i>True American</i> , Capt. John Buffinton	Apr. 29, 1777
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship <i>Gen. Putnam</i> , Capt. Daniel Waters	July 6, 1779
Thorndike, Andrew Beverly	2nd Mate L. M. ship <i>Resource</i> , Capt. Israel Thorndike	Apr. 29, 1777
	1st Mate ship <i>Resource</i> , Capt. Richard Ober	Sept. 7, 1780
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Saratoga</i>	June 16, 1781
Thorndike, Ebenezer Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Hammond</i> , Capt. Jacob Oliver	Dec. 10, 1777
Thorndike, Israel	Captain privateer schooner <i>Warren</i>	Oct. 30, 1776
	1st Lieut. State brigantine <i>Tyrannicide</i> , Capt. Jonathan Harraden	Mar. 10, 1777
	Captain privateer schooner <i>Scorpion</i>	Nov. 8, 1777
	Captain L. M. ship <i>Resource</i>	June 12, 1780
Tittle, John Beverly	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Saratoga</i>	July 1, 1778
	Captain L. M. ship <i>Marquis La Fayette</i>	Nov. 23, 1779
	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Swift</i>	June 5, 1781
	Captain L. M. ship <i>Cato</i>	Nov. 20, 1781
Trask, Joseph Beverly?	Captain privateer schooner <i>Resolution</i>	Dec. 6, 1782
	Captain L. M. schooner <i>Buckram</i>	Aug. 22, 1782
Tuck, William Beverly	2nd Lieut. privateer brig <i>Washington</i> , Capt. Elias Smith	Oct. 3, 1776
	Captain privateer <i>Bennington</i>	May 6, 1779
	Captain L. M. ship <i>Lyon</i>	Mar. 6, 1782
Turner, John Salem	Captain privateer ship <i>Franklin</i>	Dec. 2, 1780
Vickory, John Beverly	Master privateer brig <i>Washington</i> , Capt. Elias Smith	Oct. 3, 1776
Warren, Benj. Salem	Captain privateer sloop <i>Revenge</i>	Sept. 14, 1776
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Hampden</i>	July 5, 1777
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Lyon</i>	
	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Modesty</i>	Aug. 6, 1779
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship <i>Pilgrim</i>	Aug. 14, 1782
Webb, Stephen Beverly	1st Lieut. privateer sloop <i>Patty</i>	Jan. 21, 1778
	Capt. L. M. brigantine <i>Saratoga</i>	Nov. 20, 1779
	Capt. L. M. ship <i>Commerce</i>	Jan. 15, 1781

West, Nathaniel Salem	3rd Lieut. privateer <i>Terrible Creature</i> ,	
	Capt. Robert Richardson	Apr. 4, 1778
	Captain privateer <i>Terrible Creature</i>	1778
West, Samuel Salem	1st Lieut. privateer schooner <i>Tryal</i>	Sept. 7, 1778
	2nd Lieut. privateer ship <i>Oliver Cromwell</i> ,	
	Capt. James Barr	Aug. 16, 1779
White, Joseph Salem	Captain privateer sloop <i>Revenge</i>	May 14, 1776
Williams, Theodore	2nd Mate L. M. ship <i>Count D'Estaing</i> ,	
	Capt. Elias Smith	Sept. 14, 1780
Woodberry, Asa Beverly	Captain L. M. brigantine <i>Swift</i>	Jan. 3, 1780
	Captain L. M. schooner <i>Swallow</i>	1783
Woodberry, Benj. Beverly	Mate cartel schooner <i>Tryal</i>	1782
Woodberry, Herbert Beverly	Capt. L. M. brigantine <i>Fanny</i>	Jan. 14, 1778
	Captain privateer brigantine <i>Hope</i>	May 28, 1782
Woodberry, William Beverly	Captain privateer brig <i>Hope</i>	Oct. 14, 1778
	Captain privateer ship <i>Hope</i>	June 12, 1780
Woodberry, W., Jr.	Captain privateer ship <i>Neptune</i>	Sept. 7, 1780
	Captain privateer ship <i>Mars</i>	

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